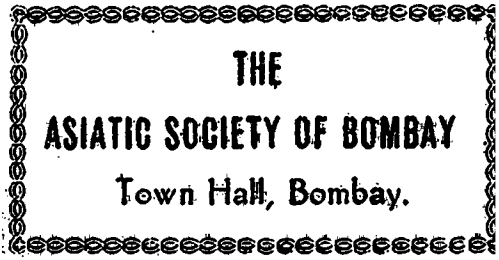
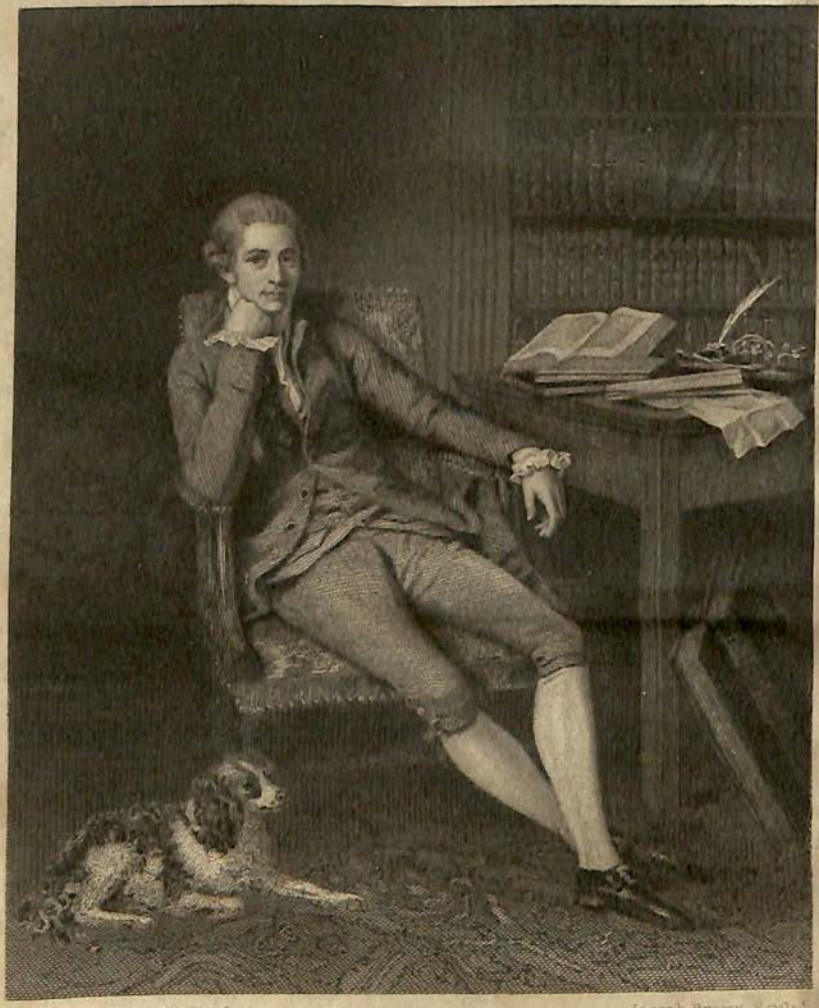
00020111

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRA



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 July, 2018



Nathaniel Dance R.A. Pinx^t Joseph Brown Sculp^t

WILLIAM, FIRST LORD AUCKLAND.

London Richard Bentley, 1860.

THE

JOURNAL

AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

WILLIAM, LORD AUCKLAND

B 2390

With a Preface and Introduction

BY THE RIGHT HON. AND RIGHT REV.

THE BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS

20111 ae

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

xx a 36

LONDON

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty

1861

The right of translation is reserved

00020111

PREFACE.

The Letters now published have been selected from a large mass of correspondence, public and private, left by William, the first Lord Auckland. Some of them are official, others private and familiar. Many of them were written from Paris in 1786, during the negotiation of the Commercial Treaty with France, in which Lord Auckland bore a principal part. Little apology is, perhaps, required for a publication of this nature, since the Public generally receives with favour whatever, in the shape of contemporary documents or family papers, tends to throw light on the history of a particular period. But, from the frequent references made to Mr. Pitt's Commercial Treaty with France in recent debates in Parliament, it has been inferred that a correspondence which describes almost day by day the progress of the negotiation, and gives a lively picture of the actors in it, might, at the present moment, possess a peculiar interest.

It is not my purpose to discuss, though I cannot wholly ignore, the imputations cast upon my father's memory in some of the memoirs of his contemporaries, which have been published in the course of the last few years. Neither my avocations, my habits, nor my tastes fit me for literary controversy. My belief is, that if Lord Auckland's life were fairly and dispassionately written, he would be found to have been an able, valuable, and honest public servant, as he was, unquestionably in private life, an

amiable and excellent man, whose memory is still fondly revered by those of his family (now, alas! very few in number) who live to remember him. To those survivors it has appeared that the picture which this correspondence discloses of Lord Auckland, both as a public and as a private man, is not unlikely to modify the harsh judgments which some may have conceived of him from reading the memoirs of Lord Malmesbury and the Right Hon. George Rose; and this belief has been one of the motives to this publication.

Of the works referred to I will only further say this:— Whoever reads the history of the past aright, or accurately observes the motives and actions of the men of his own time, must be aware how large a deduction ought to be made from the imputations cast upon public men by their contemporaries writing or speaking under the influence of party spirit or personal animosity, and probably with very imperfect knowledge of the circumstances and motives of their adversaries.

It remains only that, for myself and the other surviving members of Lord Auckland's family, I express our gratitude to Mr. George Hogge, who kindly undertook the supervision of the correspondence, and the preparation of this work for publication. We feel that, whatever success may attend these volumes, it will be in a great measure due to the research, ability, and discretion with which that gentleman has performed the substantial duties of editorship.

AUCKLAND, BATH & WELLS.

The Palace, Wells:
March 12th, 1860.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTION . . . . . Page xi

CHAPTER I.

Death of Lord Rockingham.—Lord Shelburne appointed Prime Minister.—Scene at Court.—Anger of Mr. Fox.—His Resignation.—The Rockingham Party follow Mr. Fox's Example,—Lord Shelburne's Letter to the Duke of Marlborough.—Lord Loughborough advises a Coalition between Lord North and Fox.—Lord North at Beckenham.—Bon Mot of Hare.—Mr. Eden's Interview with Lord Shelburne.—Lord Loughborough on Parliamentary Reform . . 1

CHAP. II.

Lord Loughborough at Buxton.—Arrival of the North Family.—"Cabinet Council."—Lord North's Irresolution.—Dispute between George Selwyn and Lord Weymouth.—Mr. Fox's Decision.—Lord North at Manchester.—Lord Loughborough strong for a Coalition.—Mr. Fox's Opinion that it depends upon Lord North.—Lord Loughborough's Marriage.—Mr. Eden at Court.—Parliament meets.—Preliminaries of Peace signed.—Peace signed.—Lord Loughborough violent against the Peace.—His "Testament Politique."—Lord Shelburne defeated on the Address.—The Coalition is formed.—Lord Shelburne again in a Minority.—Lord Shelburne resigns . . 25

CHAP. III.

The Coalition Administration.—Anger of Lord Loughborough.—Gibbon and Lord Sheffield.—The King's first Attempt to overthrow the Ministry.—Mr. Fox's India Bill.—Alarm of Mr. Eden and Lord Loughborough.—The Bill carried triumphantly through the House of Commons.—Letter of Adam Smith . . . . . Page 48

CHAP. IV.

The King through Lord Temple influences the Lords.—The East India Bill is rejected.—Dismissal of Lord North and Mr. Fox.—Anger of the Coalition.—Desperate Attempts of the Majority of the House of Commons to overthrow the Ministry.—Debate in the House of Lords.—Dissolution.—Mr. Pitt secures a great Majority.—In 1785 Mr. Pitt brings forward his Irish Propositions.—Debate thereupon in the Irish Parliament 67

CHAP. V.

Mr. Eden is appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Versailles in order to negotiate a Treaty.—The Duke of Portland approves of Mr. Eden's accepting the Appointment.—Mr. Wedgwood and others express their Delight.—Mr. Eden proceeds to Paris.—Interview with M. de Vergennes.—Mr. Eden sees Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette à la Chasse.—Conversation with M. de Calonne.—Projet of a Treaty agreed to between M. de Rayneval and Mr. Eden.—Mr. Pitt's Observations on it.—Horror of Mr. George Rose at the idea of opening the Silk Trade 86

CHAP. VI.

The "Projet" abandoned.—The "Declaration" and "Contre-Déclaration."—Punishment of Madame Lamotte.—Louis XVI.'s Journey to Cherbourg.—Mr. Eden left for some time without Instructions.—Lord Carmarthen's private Letter.—The Instructions arrive.—The Queen at the Duchess of Polignac's.—Mr. Eden negotiates successfully.—The Treaty concluded on the 26th of September.—Mr. Pitt congratulates Mr. Eden.—Letter of Lord Sheffield.—Lord Carmarthen's Dinner.—Letter of Mr. Woodfall 122

CHAP. VII.

Differences between England and France with respect to the Affairs of Holland.—Letters of Mr. Eden and M. de Rayneval.—Mr. Eden returns to Paris.—Lord Thurlow's Opinions on the Disputes.—M. de Montmorin professes a Wish to recede.—Revolutionary Manifestations

in Paris.—Warlike Letters of Mr. Pitt.—Notification of M. de Montmorin that France would assist the States of Holland against Prussia.—Lord Carmarthen's Circular, declaring that England would arm.—Mr. Grenville arrives in Paris.—The States of Holland recall their Demand of Assistance.—Lord Carmarthen suggests that a Declaration should be signed.—Mr. Eden's Reception at the Duchess of Polignac's Party.—Mr. Eden remonstrates against Sir James Harris's Suggestions . . . . . Page 172

CHAP. VIII.

Doubtful State of the Negotiations.—Mr. Pitt desires Mr. Eden to procure Intelligence respecting the warlike Preparations of France.—In consequence of the taking of Amsterdam, a more peaceful Feeling prevails.—The Archbishop of Toulouse reduces the Expenses of the Army and Navy.—Angry Letter of Lord Carmarthen.—Mr. Eden's Letter respecting the "Déclaration" and "Contre-Déclaration."—Vexation of M. de Montmorin and M. de Rayneval.—Letter of Mr. Wilberforce.—Discussion respecting the Reduction of the French Navy.—The French Minister signs the "Contre-Déclaration."—Opinion of the Duke of Queensberry.—Sir James Harris heartily congratulates Mr. Eden on his Success 226

CHAP. IX.

Mr. Eden's Conversation with M. de Montmorin.—Great Discontent of the French with respect to the Treaty of Commerce.—Correspondence between the French and English Governments.—The Reduction of the English and French Navies.—Negotiation for an Understanding and Alliance.—Duke of Dorset and Mr. Eden's Interview with M. de Montmorin on the Subject.—Failure of the Negotiation.—Mr. Wilberforce on the Slave Trade 268

CHAP. X.

Letter of Mr. Burke.—Congratulations on the Tranquillity of Ireland.—Sends Crabbe's first Poem.—Lord Loughborough's Advice to young Mothers.—Hugh Elliot's Congratulations.—Letter of Mr. Eden, containing curious Proofs of Irish Tranquillity.—Mr. Fox becomes a "Banker."—Scott's Attack on Flood.—Expenses of the Irish Secretaryship.—Irish Magistrates.—Lord Rawdon.—Mr. Eden resigns his Office.—Letters of Mr. Cooke.—Lord Bellamont's Eloquence.—Lord Temple and his Brother.—Fracas between Grattan and Flood.—Mr. Fox and Mrs. Armstead.—Lord Mansfield and the Prince of Wales at Tunbridge 309

CHAP. XI.

Death of Lord Sackville.—Warren Hastings at Cheltenham.—Opinions of Mr. Hatsell and Sir Grey Cooper with respect to the Surplus Revenue.—Sir Ralph Payne's Hopes.—Hugh Elliot at Bath.—Letters of Mr. Storer.—The Duke of Orleans in London.—Mrs. Eden and her Children.—Mr. Pitt and Lord Stanhope.—Lord Cornwallis and Lady Wallace.—Fracas at the Ranelagh, and Duel in Kensington Gardens.—Lord Sydney in love.—Mr. Pitt votes against Warren Hastings —Lord Loughborough amuses himself with Literature . Page 350

CHAP. XII.

The King and Queen at Blenheim.—Lord Harcourt's Sufferings.—Mrs. Eden's Nursery.—Mr. Storer at Paris.—The Duke of Dorset's Opinions of Merchants.—Lord Sheffield's Attacks on the Commercial Treaty.—Mr. Eden's Defence of it.—Lord Sheffield and the Duchess of Gordon.—Sir James Harris and the French Count.—Plays at Richmond House.—Blindness of Lord North.—The Polignacs.—The Prince of Wales's Debts.—Alderman Newnham's Motion 386

CHAP. XIII.

Mrs. Fitzherbert and Mr. Fox.—Bon Mot of George Selwyn.—The Polignacs at St. Paul's and Stowe.—Mr. Wedgwood's Letter.—The Duke of Dorset and his Secretary.—The Duke of York.—Lord Sheffield and Gibbon.—The King and Lord Lansdowne.—Lord Loughborough's opinions with respect to France.—Calonne at Bushey.—Lord George Gordon becomes a Jew.—Trial of Sir Elijah Impey.—Curious statement of the Solicitor-General.—Great Boxing-match . . 423

CHAP. XIV.

Lord Loughborough's Literary Labours.—M. de Calonne and Hannah More.—Arrival of M. de la Luzerne.—The Duchess of Gloucester and Lady Almeria Carpenter.—Great Season for Marriages.—Lord Carmarthen's Dinner.—Three Runaway Matches.—Trial of Warren Hastings.—Mrs. Sheridan and Mrs Siddons.—Mr. Fox's Speech.—Mr. Dundas's Extraordinary Statement.—Lady Archer and her Daughters.—Ball at Richmond House.—Perplexity of the French Ambassador.—Mr. Greathed's Tragedy.—Duke of Dorset obtains the Garter.—Popularity of M. de Calonne 459

ILLUSTRATIONS 479

INTRODUCTION

William Lord Auckland, LL.D., F.R.S., was the third son of Sir Robert Eden, of West Auckland, on one of whose ancestors the honour of a baronetcy was conferred by King Charles II. in 1672. The eldest son, Sir John Eden, Bart., represented the county of Durham in two Parliaments. The second, Sir Robert Eden, was Governor of Maryland, and was created a Baronet in 1776. The fourth son was a merchant of London, and the fifth was in 1799 created Lord Henley of the kingdom of Ireland.

The connection of the Edens with the very ancient houses of Widdrington, Fairfax, Sheffield, Vere, Kene, and Chichele is fully traced in Collins' "Baronetage," and in the "Stemmata Chicheleana."

Lord Auckland was born in the year 1745, and was educated at Eton. In 1763, he became a student of Christ Church, Oxford, on the nomination of the Bishop of Durham. In 1765 he was admitted to the Society of the Middle Temple. In 1768 he took the degree of Master of Arts, and in the same year was called to the Bar, and went the northern circuit. In

December, 1770, he appears to have been one of the counsel for Sir Thomas Rumbold, on the Shrewsbury election, at the first Select Committee which was chosen under Mr. Grenville's Act for the Trial of Controverted Elections. In 1771 he was appointed auditor and one of the directors of Greenwich Hospital, and about the same time he published a pamphlet calling the attention of the public to the disgraceful state of the penal law. It made a great sensation both at home and abroad, and in fact caused the beginning of that reform which has since made such progress. In 1772 he gave up the profession of the law for public life, and the following letter addressed to Sir A. Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, shows the motives which influenced him in accepting the office of Under-Secretary of State:—

Friday, 2 o'clock.

My dear Sir,—My mind has been in a full gallop ever since I breakfasted with you this morning, and, after all, three hours furnish a very short speculation, when the result may possibly decide the whole course of one's life. I have no reason to imagine that Lord Suffolk, without knowing me, will ever think me a proper successor to poor Whately's desk. You desire me, however, to turn the matter in my thoughts. I shall state those thoughts to you with the utmost unreserve. I assent to all your objections, and feel infinitely obliged to you for the friendship of them. I see the hazard, but am not easily startled, and I certainly have had no reason to be disgusted with my profession. My success in it hitherto hath infinitely exceeded both my pretensions and expectations. I now see my way in this path (and, to a limited degree), with some certainty; in the political path I have no experience, I know nothing of it with certainty, except that many have lost their way in it. It is also evident, that if I turn from my profession, it will be in vain

to look back upon it, "vestigia nulla retrorsum." I am aware, too, of the daily confinement and regular attendance at the office, of the affected reserve which a man must adopt on all subjects, whether ignorant or otherwise; and, lastly, of the hourly necessity of giving disagreeable answers both to reasonable and unreasonable requests. So much contra. On the other hand, I love politics better than law (and this not from caprice, for I feel it to be the natural bent of my inclination). I also love business, and am conscious that I possess the spirit of perseverance. I have no wish to make a fortune, and those who know me will believe that I am capable of being happy with a very moderate competence. I am armed, therefore, against events. I think that I could go through the duties of the office with steadiness (perhaps with address), and to Lord Suffolk's satisfaction. I am very confident that if he should quit it, I could retire from it with cheerfulness and content. It seems an objection that I should be obliged to quit other connections which are promising, and very respectable. I think, however, that I might preserve their friendship so far as not to be useless to those with whom I should engage. I think it no disadvantage not to be at present in the House of Commons; I should be more than sufficiently employed in learning and pursuing the business of the office.

If it were offered, I should not upon the whole hesitate one moment, if you, who know Lord Suffolk, could assure me that my temper would be suitable to his, for I could not bear such a situation unless honoured at the same time with his lordship's unlimited confidence, because I am sure that I should endeavour to deserve it. This is to me the most material consideration, and I incline to believe that if I had the honour of knowing his lordship, I should have no further doubts.

This is my creed at present. If you think that my notions are either misdirected or absurd, you will tell me so without mercy.

Believe me yours most sincerely,

W. Eden.

In 1772 Mr. Eden was chosen representative for Woodstock, and continued a member of the House of Commons till 1793. In 1776 Mr. Eden married Eleanor Elliot, daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, treasurer of the navy, and sister of Gilbert first Earl of Minto. In the same year, and still retaining the office of Under-Secretary of State, he was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and was a member of that board till 1782, when its duties and powers were transferred to a Committee of the Privy Council, at which Lord Liverpool so long and so ably presided. As Under-Secretary of State he continued in office to support the mitigation of our harsh laws, and in 1778 carried an Act, 19 George III., the principal objects of which were to enforce a strict and salutary attention both to the morals and health of prisoners, to introduce a system of solitary imprisonment for certain crimes, and to establish penitentiary houses. He was understood to have had the friendly assistance of Mr. Howard and Sir William Blackstone in framing that Act; and Mr. Howard was appointed one of the three inspectors.

In November, 1779, Mr. Eden published his four letters to the Earl of Carlisle on "The Spirit of Party," on "The Circumstances of War," on "The Means of Raising Supplies," and on "The Representations of Ireland respecting a Free Trade." These letters were followed by a short controversy with Dr. Price on the population of England. The discussions and inquiries on the subject were pursued by others with much ability. In the year 1778 he was selected, much against his inclination, as one of the Com-

missioners to America for the purpose of restoring peace. The other Commissioners were the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and George Johnstone, Esq. That he was fitted for the post in the opinion of Lord Mansfield is testified in the following letter:—

March 5th, 1778, past 9.

My dear Sir,—I have this moment received your letter. I wonder they part with you, I do not see who can in any degree fill your place at home; I fear you will be fatally missed. You execute ably and honestly many most important and most confidential parts; I do not see a successor to you in any one; many circumstances and qualifications are requisite. I think had I been Lord North or Lord Suffolk I would not have let you go. With respect to the commission, I rejoice in it exceedingly. I am now sure no mischief will arise from an improper exercise of extraordinary powers, which I dreaded before; that alone is doing great good. I keep my thoughts of the measure to myself. I pray God I may be mistaken. It seems of the utmost consequence, as you are to go, that you should go immediately, especially with regard to Sir H. Clinton and the military.

My sittings, which have been very heavy, and kept me every day till five o'clock, will probably end on Saturday, but I shall be glad to see you any evening that is most convenient, to-morrow, Saturday, or any other, only send me word. I will tell you frankly what occurs to me, which is better for conversation than a letter. I think the confidence you are known to be in, as well as your own talents and knowledge of business, give a dignity and an air of seriousness to the commission which I was afraid it would have gone without. Be the success as it may, I do not see that it can turn out personally to your prejudice, but on the contrary.

I am most affectionately yours,

MANSFIELD.

Mr. Eden returned to England in January 1779,

and took part in the debates of the session and in the inquiries respecting the conduct of the American war. In 1780, owing to the relaxation of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, fearful mobs, under the guidance of Lord George Gordon, assembled, and soon began to exercise the most arbitrary power over both Lords and Commons. On the 2nd of June the riots commenced, and on the 5th June Roman Catholic chapels were demolished and burnt; Newgate was attacked. On the 7th of June, the riots still continuing, Mr. Eden addressed the following letter to Lord North:—

My dear Lord,—Allow a man insignificant enough to be an unmolested spectator of the present calamity, and who is sufficiently composed amidst such a scene, to suggest what occurs to him. Unless the tone of civil government is restored by some very serious exertion, we shall in forty-eight hours be in a state of anarchy, and shall see a general plunder, attended, perhaps, with a massacre of all the most respectable men. In the meantime, the diffidence in the present Ministers is growing into despondency, and that will rise into rage, for the cry of "No Popery" will soon turn into something of more sense and meaning. In short, the situation is most alarming, and without extreme activity and wise decision, the nation is undone. I press these considerations no further. My flat opinion is, 1st. That orders should be properly (I mean effectually) given to the soldiery to disperse, in all events, all bodies of men tumultuously assembled or assembling in the streets, and that this should be preceded and accompanied by a proclamation, and by notices in handbills to all well-disposed subjects to avoid mixing among the rioters. If this measure is properly detailed and severely enforced, it certainly is to be apprehended that many will fall in the execution of it; it is, however, under the exigency of the moment, to be wished, that a prompt severity may take place. This, at least, is my deliberate and cool opinion. 2nd. With

respect to measures of an opposite nature, if the tone of government were restored, I for one should have no objection to give the repeal required by the petition. But I think it would be done with a better grace and with more effect if asked by the Roman Catholic body. 3rd. We ought not to meet in Parliament whilst these disorders continue.

Ireland was also in a most alarming state, and seemed upon the point of following the example of America. At the earnest and repeated entreaty of Lord North Mr. Eden accepted the appointment of Chief-Secretary in Ireland when the Earl of Carlisle was Lord Lieutenant. He was soon after sworn of the Irish Privy Council, and elected a member of the Irish Parliament. Amongst the various Acts of his Administration he framed and brought forward the bill for establishing a National Bank. In 1782 he resigned the office of Chief-Secretary on the conclusion of Lord North's Administration.

In April, 1783, on the formation of the Coalition Administration, he was sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council in England, and was appointed Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, which office he resigned in the month of December following. He seems to have remonstrated against the India Bill brought in by Mr. Fox, which caused the downfall of that Government.

In the session of 1784 Mr. Eden was chairman of the Committee appointed to inquire into the illicit practices used in defrauding the revenue. He was also chairman of the Select Committee appointed to examine the reports of the Directors of the East India Company. The reports presented to the House by these committees were made the foundation of several parliamentary measures. In the following

session he took an active part in opposing the Irish propositions.

In December 1785 Mr. Eden was appointed one of the Lords of the Committee of Council for Trade and Plantations, and was named Envoy-Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles, for the purpose of concluding a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France. That treaty was accomplished, and signed September 26th, 1786.

In 1787 Mr. Eden had the most arduous duties to perform. He concluded a treaty respecting the East Indies, in which, for the first time, our rights of sovereignty were acknowledged by the French Government. He also, by his conciliatory conduct and the influence which he had gained at the court of Versailles, mainly contributed to the prevention of a war with respect to the affairs of Holland.

In 1788 Mr. Eden proceeded to Spain as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and on his return from that embassy he was promoted to the dignity of the Irish Peerage.

In 1789 he was appointed Ambassador to Holland, and in 1790 on the occasion when war appeared imminent between England and Spain with respect to Nootka Sound, by his influence he obtained the promise of naval assistance, and a Dutch fleet was sent to Spithead.

On the 10th of December, 1790, Lord Auckland concluded and signed the convention between the Emperor Leopold and the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, and the States-General of the United Provinces, relative to the affairs of the Netherlands. This

treaty was so satisfactory to Mr. Pitt, that he wrote to him as follows:—

Downing Street, December 21, 1790.

My dear Lord,—Though in the midst of the detail of taxes, which leave hardly a minute for foreign politics, I cannot delay till another mail expressing the singular pleasure I feel in the happy and honourable result of your labours. I consider the event as fortunate in a thousand views—for the country and for Government; but there is no man whom I so much wish to congratulate upon it as yourself, because I consider our success as due exclusively to your exertions. We shall lay the Treaty before both Houses to-day, where I hope it will be received as matter of great triumph, even by country gentlemen, who are grumbling at an additional threepence in the pound on malt.

My budget, on the whole, goes down with greater facility than, considering the extent of the burden, could be expected. Before the end of the week, I hope I shall be able to send the instructions you wish respecting the Commercial Treaty.

Ever, my dear Lord, yours most sincerely,

W. Pitt.

In 1793, after the repulse of the French armies, Lord Auckland attended the Congress held at Antwerp, and was promoted to the dignity of a baron in Great Britain. He returned to England, and for the next seven years became the confidential adviser of Mr. Pitt, under whom he took office as Postmaster-General in 1798. On the resignation of Mr. Pitt in 1801, Lord Auckland, who had differed from him with respect to the policy of the Catholic Question, remained in office under Mr. Addington. On the return of Mr. Pitt to office in 1804, Lord Auckland resigned the Post Office, and seems from this time to have belonged to the party of Lord Gren-

ville, under whom, in 1806, he took office as President of the Board of Trade, and resigned with the rest of the Ministers the following year. He did not, however, leave office without drawing up, in conjunction with Lord Holland, an official paper which contained commercial stipulations framed on the fairest and most liberal principles of reciprocal advantage and utility to this country and the United States.

From this period of his life, Lord Auckland passed his time in retirement. His last years were embittered by the loss of his eldest son William in 1810. Lord Auckland never recovered the shock, and died suddenly on the 28th of May, 1814.

Such in brief are the details of his public life. It is right to add, that he was excellent in the discharge of his domestic duties, as is manifested in his Spanish journal, which will be found in the Second Volume of this Work.

In private life, he was acknowledged on all sides to be a most agreeable companion and a most amiable man. Though he left a very great number of his letters behind him, both political and social, scarcely is any remark to be found in them which could give pain to the most vehement of his political opposers, or to any other person known to him.

AUCKLAND, BATH & WELLS.

London, November, 1860.

THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

WILLIAM, FIRST LORD AUCKLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Death of Lord Rockingham.—Lord Shelburne appointed Prime Minister.—Scene at Court.—Anger of Mr. Fox.—His Resignation.—The Rockingham Party follow Mr. Fox's Example.—Lord Shelburne's Letter to the Duke of Marlborough.—Lord Loughborough advises a Coalition between Lord North and Fox.—Lord North at Beckenham.—Bon Mot of Hare.—Mr. Eden's Interview with Lord Shelburne.—Lord Loughborough on Parliamentary Reform.

THE following letters relate to a most interesting part of our history, the formation of the Coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox, which overthrew the Government of Lord Shelburne. The disastrous Administration of Lord North terminated in March, 1782. Lord Rockingham succeeded as First Lord of the Treasury, with Mr. Fox and Lord Shelburne as Secretaries of State. On the death of Lord Rockingham, in July of the same year, Mr. Fox intended that the Duke of Portland should be Prime Minister. The King, however, was determined to appoint Lord Shelburne. Fox, Burke, and their friends immediately resigned, and went into violent opposition, but still there was no junction with the party of Lord North. Two parties in opposition, whatever differ-

ences there may be between them, are almost certain in the end to combine against their natural enemy, the Ministry of the day.

There is no doubt, in this instance, that the chief agent in effecting the Coalition was Lord Loughborough.

There is no date to the following letter. It is evidently written on Thursday, July 4th.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—Lord Shelburne * is First Lord of the Treasury. He acquainted his colleagues yesterday, that His Majesty had offered, and that he had accepted, the place. They were very angry at the offer and the acceptance. This morning at Court, C. Fox † told the first person he saw, that he was come with the Seals to resign them, if Lord Shelburne should tell him he was First Lord of the Treasury; that he did not know who would go out with him, but that the Duke of Richmond and General Conway would not. Lord Shelburne and he met in the drawing-room, and had an angry conversation, as far as people could judge who only saw it. Fox went into His Majesty, and in about five minutes came out without the Seals. Lord John Cavendish resigns, the Duke of Portland will resign. Lord Keppel ‡ resigns, but not till his successor is appointed: all the Treasury, except Grenville, resign. Young Pitt is said by some to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, by others, Secretary of State. Places are cheaper than mackerel. The Duke of Rutland, it is supposed, will have the blue ribbon and Ireland. ‖ Burke, I suppose, will resign, and all those who were

* In the Shelburne Administration Mr. Thomas Townshend and Lord Grantham were Secretaries of State, Lord Thurlow remained Chancellor, and Mr. Pitt entered office for the first time as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

† In the Cabinet of Lord Rockingham violent dissensions had arisen between Fox and Lord Shelburne, respecting the terms of the peace with America.

‡ First Lord of the Admiralty.

‖ Lord Temple was appointed Lord Lieutenant.

pure Rockinghams. Townshend * will not quit the War Office.

I saw Lord Carlisle† this evening, and tried to show him that he had an opportunity now to retrieve his game, whether he quitted or continued. I pressed him strongly to avail himself of the crisis, at least so far as to cover his friends in Ireland. I did not find him very prompt. He entered a little on your subject handsomely, but not with proper warmth, and I would not encourage that conversation, but I left him with matter enough for his mind to work upon.

There will probably be a curious scene in the House of Commons to-morrow, and I think it is worth your trouble to be a spectator of it. I shall be at home all the morning till three o'clock, but I am not likely to know more than I now relate to you.

Yours ever,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

A copy of the following letter of Lord Shelburne's was sent to Mr. Eden in the handwriting of the Duchess of Marlborough.

Lord Shelburne to the Duke of Marlborough.‡

London, July 8th, 1782.

My dear Duke,—I wish to have an opportunity of explaining to your Grace all that has passed since the death of Lord Rockingham. Mr. Fox resigned the seals of Secretary of State on Thursday, because the King did not think of one of the late Lord Rockingham's friends to succeed to the Treasury. The Duke of Richmond, and many others of the very party, disapprove the steps and disavow the principle, upon which I am persuaded I need not ask your Grace's opinion. In truth it is taking the executive alto-

* Mr. Thomas Townshend, who became Secretary of State.

† Lord Carlisle, who had been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when Mr. Eden was Chief Secretary, had accepted office under Lord Rockingham as Lord Steward of the Household. He remained in office under Lord Shelburne.

‡ George, third Duke of Marlborough. Lord Charles and Lord Robert Spencer were his brothers.

gether out of the King's hands, and placing it in the hands of a party, which, however respectable, must prove a complete tyranny to everybody else. I flatter myself also, that your Grace may not disapprove of the King's calling upon me to take that department, at least, for the moment. In the meantime I wish to acquaint your Grace of the resignation of Lord R. Spencer, and to receive your Grace's commands, whether, as it was a situation which the King originally intended, as your Grace knows, for Lord Charles Spencer, I may on this occasion take the liberty of proposing it to his lordship.

I wish to acquaint your Grace with the names of those who are to fill the offices vacated on this occasion; but I do not find there will be many resignations. I expect everything will be arranged on Wednesday, of which I will not fail to send your Grace an account.

I beg to offer my most respectful compliments to the Duchess of Marlborough; and have the honour to be, with great truth,

Your Grace's most devoted S.,

SHELBURNE.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham*, July 8th, 1782, 7 P.M.

My dear Lord,—I know little more than the mere conjectural politics of the day, as stated in the newspapers. Commodore Elliot has this moment left me: he dined with me from London, and is proceeding to Portsmouth charged with some Admiralty express, and under orders to prepare immediately for the expedition. The Admiralty continues in its functions, and Lord Keppel told them, nearly in the same language as Burke told me, that he had not yet resigned, and did not know when he should resign. Lord Shelburne was then expected to call, and came to the door before Elliot came away, on some particular sea business. They are under immediate alarms

* Mr. Eden's country residence was at Beckenham.

of the combined fleet which has been certainly off Ushant.

The report of the day was that Jenkinson would be Chancellor of the Exchequer: it did not seem to be thought possible that Charles Fox could be again reconciled. Charles's friends are very anxious for to-morrow's conversation; and Sir Gilbert Elliot* has deferred going to Scotland till Wednesday, though the ladies are on the road waiting for him. I received an answer from Stuart† "that Lord Shelburne would fix the first moment he could command for a meeting;" and in the meantime desired to have it said, "that he received, with the utmost satisfaction, the communication of sentiments and dispositions stated with so much frankness, and upon such clear principles of honour and propriety."

I have also a letter from Lord Carlisle, desiring to know the particulars of such Irish recommendations as we had wished to carry; and, farther than I have now said, I know nothing.

I will write again to-morrow evening or Wednesday.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Very affectionately and respectfully yours,
WM. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham, July 10th, 1782.

My dear Lord,—For facts I must refer you to the "Morning Chronicle," and to the "Evening Post." I am vexed that you are on your circuit‡, as I would give anything for an hour's conversation with you on the present state of things.

It seems to me impossible for Lord Shelburne's Government to last beyond a summer campaign, unless he gets a very considerable and avowed acces-

* Afterwards Earl of Minto.

† Andrew Stuart, agent for the Hamiltons, in the Douglas case.

‡ Lord Loughborough was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

sion from the friends of the old Government, and even then he will be under great difficulties. The circumstances of the country are, and must be such as to give great advantage to an opposition of such strength as the one which is forming. If the new Government is to consist of Lord Shelburne, the Chancellor, the Pitts, and the Grenvilles, it will not do, unless they have a course of good fortune beyond all probability; and yet I should be very sorry to see the Closet again stormed by the mere Rockingham party.

Lord Shelburne's letter to the Duke of Marlborough (which the Duke sent to me) is fair enough, so far as it goes. He stated the cause and course of the disagreement, that many of the very party disavowed the principle, "which in truth would take the executive out of the King's hands, and place it in a party," "which would prove a tyranny to the rest of the kingdom;" he then adds that the King had called upon him to take the Treasury, at least for the moment.

He communicates Lord R. Spencer's resignation, offers the office in kind expressions to Lord Charles*, and promises to send a full account of all arrangements on Wednesday.† I think the offer to the Duke of Marlborough a very awkward and indelicate one. They should have found some other office for Lord Charles. The Duke leaves it to Lord Charles to decide as he likes; but writes to me that he will not engage for himself without knowing more. The Duke, supposing that you were in town, expresses a wish to hear from you.

I will write more in a day or two.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Most affectionately yours.
WM. EDEN.

* Lord Charles Spencer.
† Parliament was prorogued on the 11th July.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Lincoln, July 12th, 1782.

My dear Eden,—I have this moment received your letter of the 10th, the two first I had got at Northampton. The result of my reflections on the present state of things is not of much use to anybody, for I am very clear that Lord Shelburne's Government will not do, and I don't know what will. Had Lord Shelburne's party been spliced in with the old Government at a proper time, I believe there would not have been pull enough to have snapped the rope, but after it has been broken completely, I believe there is no way of tying it together that can make a strong cord.

Without an avowed support from the friends of the late Administration, the new system must very speedily be overset: a bare unopposing acquiescence would not be sufficient to keep it up for six weeks after the meeting of Parliament. If it were possible that such a support should be given disinterested, unasked, and unconditional, I think it would be the most honourable, and in the end the wisest, measure that the friends of the late Administration could take; but the resolution requires more purity and public spirit than can reasonably be supposed to animate a great number of persons, amongst whom there are many irritated at their own ill-treatment, disappointed in their just expectations, or reduced in their incomes. The minister too, for whose immediate advantage they are to make such an exertion, is a man neither liked nor respected, and to whom even interest could not easily reconcile the greater part of them.

What I suppose the best plan, I take therefore to be impracticable, especially as Lord North has not the talents requisite for the leader of a party out of office. The thing most wanted at present, is some person of untainted character and of weight in the country, under whom men of various descriptions would be disposed to unite, and to range them-

selves according to their respective rates of ability and power. Such a man must be found amongst those who have not yet been tried in office, for against every one who has, there prevails more or less of prejudice which would abate that respect which is the only support of such a situation. Nothing, I am afraid, would induce the Duke of Marlborough to stand forth; though if he could overcome his aversion to business, he is better qualified than any man to take that part. Lord Carlisle has laid himself aside; and Lord North has lost a great share of the confidence which men had in him before the late change.

It is probable that many of our old friends will accede to the present system. They must be solicited, and they will not stand out against the solicitations. In a very short time the weakness which I am morally certain marks the principal department, will be as well known, as the insincerity and deceit of that character now is. A minister may hold power, though he is detested, but he cannot when he is at the same time despised.

The converts gained from the Rockinghams, the Duke of Richmond and Conway, will not add much to the reputation of Government, and the old friends of the minister are already blasted characters.

I had written so far before I received my newspaper, which exhibits more early proofs of folly than I had imagined. Sir George Yonge, Secretary at War, is most completely ridiculous; and the other arrangements are not very happily chosen.

I long much to hear the result of your conference; and the only advice I have to offer you, which I am persuaded is unnecessary, is to beware of engaging too far. I don't mean that you should absolutely decline any office, though I think it will be difficult to find one that would be very eligible in such company.

Yours ever,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

The following is the first letter in which Lord Loughborough suggests the Coalition.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—As my mind is not apt to remain long in a state of despondency, I have taken a notion that a strong and durable Administration is not impossible. There are very good materials for the building, and there only wants some Amphion, who could move them with his song. Very few, indeed, of the stones in the present building are better than mere rubbish; and therefore I should begin by pulling it quite down: in which, perhaps, it would be much easier to find men willing to unite, than in forming a plan of a new one. Where their interests, however, seem to me so very plain, I should not despair that they would soon become sensible of them.

My notion, in short, is, that part of the old Administration with the remnant of the Rockingham party could form a stable Government. Their opposite faults would correct each other; and amongst them they would possess more character, and more of the public confidence, than any other assemblage of men. The first thing is to reconcile Lord North and Fox. The first, you know, is irreconcilable to no man; the second will feel his ancient resentment totally absorbed in his more recent hostility, which I think he has no other probable means of gratifying.

It always seemed to me his best game to accede to Lord North, if his temper and his connections would have allowed him to play it; for with Lord North he would have had a better and a more secure share of power than he could have had with any other considerable man; and he had the prospect of succeeding to the entire lead of the House of Commons at no great distance. It is now Lord North's interest to unite with him, even if he were sure (which he is not) of being able to keep a considerable body of his friends disengaged from every other connection. Is it not also the interest of all their friends? The bar which

Lord Rockingham's pretensions formed to that union being now removed, Lord North and Fox restored to their former places, there would be ample means of gratifying the most considerable friends of both; and the executive departments, at the same time, filled with men capable of executing the business of them, without their being sacrificed to the convenience of an arrangement.

If this plan was prepared to take place when the public is convinced, as it will soon be, of the incapacity of the present set, I am persuaded it would best answer the general expectation, and give the strongest assurance of a permanent Administration. The Duke of Portland and Lord John Cavendish are the only men Fox would desire to take into the Cabinet with him, and Lord North has no men of that description so much attached to him, as to make it difficult to admit them. He would even be at a loss, I think, to find proper men amongst his own set for Cabinet places. The Duke of Marlborough would be a great strength, if he could be prevailed upon to take one, and it might even be necessary to do more for Lord Carlisle* than he has a right to expect. Jenkinson might be at the head of the Admiralty. This change would have less the appearance of storming than any other that may happen, and so far, I think, it would be a great advantage; for another attack by storm (which many people would rejoice at) would be very serious indeed.

You have now the outline of an idea that has struck me very much; and though I know there are great objections to it, besides the difficulty of disposing men's minds to forego their prejudice to each other, I am strongly convinced that it is preferable to any attempt to patch and prop the deformity, corruption, and weakness of the present wretched composition.

Yours ever,

July 14th, 1782. LOUGHBOROUGH.

* Lord Carlisle's acceptance of office under Lord Rockingham had annoyed the North party.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

My dear Lord,— I will write very fully by the Monday's post. I do not think the new Coalition alluded to in your last letter quite impracticable, though it is full of difficulties. The Paynes * and Andrew Stuart were with us on Tuesday till yesterday morning. To-day we came to this street on some business, and here we found Lord North, who comes to us on Monday. Both sides are making civil intimations, and one side† direct overtures. Let me know how to direct to you from time to time.

I know no facts but what are in the papers, and this is merely *quasi signum vitæ*.

Yours very affectionately and respectfully,

WM. EDEN.

Downing Street, Friday, July 20th.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham, Kent, July 24th, 1782.

My dear Lord,—Having had during the last few days constant successions of company of every description and denomination, and having been also very busy with my hay (all of which, except about three acres, entirely escaped the rains), I have postponed writing to you; and I now begin to fear that your circuit is near its end.

Lord North passed a day and a half very pleasantly with us. He thinks that his friends should adhere to him, or at least to each other, and at any rate should stand aloof and ultimately join one of the contending parties against the other; but he fears that many will be detached from this system by favours and promises in the course of this summer.

He does not see much efficiency in the ostensible Minister in the House of Commons, but thinks Pitt and the Lord Advocate ‡ will be very powerful sup-

* Sir Ralph and Lady Payne. Sir Ralph was created, 1st Oct. 1795, an Irish Peer, with the title of Lord Lavington. Sir Ralph married a Viennese lady, Mlle. de Kelbel.

† Mr. Fox's.

‡ Henry Dundas.

porters. The Advocate was expected yesterday, and will certainly join Lord Shelburne, if they give him his Scotch office for life. Lord Gower has written to Lord Shelburne to say that he wishes him success. Rigby seems to hold a different language, and is examining the possibility of uniting Lord North and Charles Fox. Charles sent a message that Lord North ought to unite with him; that it was by no means impracticable to reconcile their differences; that he certainly had pledged himself on one or two points too far to change his language, but that the present Ministers had done the same, and that his (Fox's) friends would be at liberty on those points, though the friends of the Ministers could not. I found Lord North at this period exactly as in old times—irresolute, with a mixture of reserves and jealousies. I incline, however, to think with him, that it is as yet too soon to form any system.

Burke's foolish bill* has made it a very difficult task for any set of men either to form or maintain an Administration.

Selwyn is much amused with a grave remark of his servant, who went last week to see Charles Fox's servants, and found them packing up in Grafton Street†, to return to St. James's Street, or such other situation as they could find. Selwyn asked the man if they were angry or unhappy? "Non, Monsieur (dit-il); la comédie est finie, les comédiens s'en vont; c'est tout simple."

Gibbon and Mansfield‡ dine here to-day. It was a good remark yesterday of Lord North's on Gibbon's picture prefixed to the second volume of his History; "Mr. Gibbon sells his purchasers a bargain in that volume."

Barrington‖ has Salisbury, because the *royal*

* Burke's economical reform, which had abolished a great many offices.

† Fox's residence, when minister.

‡ James Mansfield.

‖ Hon. Shute Barrington, afterwards Bishop of Durham. His brother William, second Viscount Barrington, formerly Secretary at War, was one of the "King's friends."

promises are sacred. The Duke of Grafton is not pleased at this.

Our Beckenham parson preached politics last Sunday, and his text was "All this availeth me nothing so long as Mordecai, &c." Lord North observed, that Mordecai the Jew must mean "Malagrida * the Jesuit."

I enclose some Irish† politics: pray return them to me. Let me know your route from time to time. All well here; and very happy if we can contrive to keep within our income; and all who come to us are wishing to turn farmers.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Ever respectfully and affectionately yours,
WM. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham, July 25th.

My dear Lord,—I know too little of the political world to attempt to write at present about it. We have had visitors in abundance, but they have been chiefly Irish—Kingsboroughs, Nicholsons, Clements, Lees‡, &c. To-day we are going to dine at Jenkinson's, and to-morrow Andrew Stuart and the Paynes are coming for two days to us. On Wednesday, therefore, I may possibly have materials for a letter.

I have not heard anything from Lord Shelburne, nor did he write that supplemental letter describing his arrangements and system, which he promised to the Duke of Marlborough; but this morning a servant came to me from Blenheim with a packet containing two letters to Lord Shelburne, the one accepting the Vice-Treasurership for Lord Charles, the other desiring further time for consideration; and it was left to me to forward whichever might seem most expedient.

You may easily guess that I forwarded the letter

* Lord Shelburne.

† Letters from Mr. Eden's friends in Ireland. Some of these will be found in another part of this volume.

‡ John Lees, Secretary of the Post Office in Ireland, father of the late Sir Harcourt Lees.

of acceptance; and I fairly incline to think that the acceptance is the preferable measure; but if I had thought otherwise, unless I could have stated less disputable reasons than occur to me, I should have forwarded the accepting letter, more especially as it was within possibility that the Vice-Treasurership might otherwise have been offered to me, which would have been a very awkward and indelicate circumstance.

The new Government, so far as we can judge the appointments hitherto made, is not made to last for ever. It would, however, be a bad business, if it should break down too suddenly. The Portland Set, as it is to be called, would not be quite what any reasonable man could bear, if they were now to come in as a triumphant party.

Lees tells me that Sir James Erskine* attends to his Military Office, and is doing extremely well.

Fine weather to-day for hay-making. We are very busy.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Most affectionately yours,
WM. EDEN.

Strachy is turned out, and a Mr. Goodenough (some friend of the Duke of Richmond's), they say, is appointed Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham, Kent, July 25th, 1782.

My dear Lord,— I send you a continuation of Irish politics. Lord Shelburne's eagerness to gain proselytes from Charles Fox, appears to have led him into a foolish step with the Duke of Portland. I understand that the Duke wrote a letter to the Duke of Richmond, with which Burke is quite delighted. Charles Fox speaks of the Duke of Richmond † in very harsh terms, and of his ingratitude to those who had

* Lord Loughborough's nephew.
† The Duke was Fox's uncle.

saved him from being an outcast from all gentleman-like society.

Hare* laughs much at the state of things, and congratulates Charles on coming from the service of the King of England, once more to attend the King of Egypt.† He never quitted his upper story in St. James's Street, for he foresaw that Charles would soon return to the first floor, and could not think, he said, of putting himself in a situation to rise at the time of his friend's fall.

The Advocate dined yesterday with General Conway, and the day before with Lord Shelburne. They will give him his own terms.

The strength of the old set will nevertheless be decisive, if ever brought to action; but it unluckily wants a head, and I do not see how to remedy that defect, unless you can make that situation compatible with the Chief Justiceship. I really see no other resource.

Pray let me know what course you steer. I never heard more from Berkeley Square, and am not sorry for it.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Very affectionately yours,
WM. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Downing Street, July 31st.

My dear Lord,— I attended Lord Shelburne this morning, and was received with the utmost politeness, for I was shown into a room where several were waiting, and was ushered forward immediately. Our ostensible meeting and conversation turned on Irish politics, but you will easily conceive that it glided immediately into the large range of politics. I felt little embarrassment, for I had not one sentiment that I wished to conceal. I recurred to some of the

* The celebrated wit, M.P. for Knaresborough.
† Fox's devotion to the Faro table is here alluded to.

Irish businesses, as engaging alone my personal wishes, so far as State arrangements may be concerned. I said that, whenever I had used every fair and honourable effort in my power to obtain the just and wise attentions to friends in Ireland, who had recently been connected with me in public service, I should then, but not till then, feel satisfied with myself. We got into that detail, in the course of which he hinted that if Lord Carlisle should be dissatisfied and wish to resign the White Stick, it was a good thing, and other Lords would be glad to bear it. This too was rather officiously brought forward, as if he thought I should not be hurt by his speaking slightingly of that person. I did not appear to observe or understand it. He closed the subject by desiring to hear from me upon it.

He then, again, got back to his own situation; talked of the necessity of making friends; his determination to resist the Duke of Richmond's ideas of exclusion; his personal partialities to connect himself with particular people; gave some broad but indefinite hints of some intentions in view respecting me—to which I clearly answered, that I neither solicited, nor sought, nor was prepared to receive. We talked on general matters again, and I will state what passed in a subsequent letter.

Before we parted, he asked to see me again some day next week; and said orders were given to admit me whenever I came to town, and would call.

So much for this. I agree with you that it will not do, and I do not yet see what will. No news, except the safe arrival of the Jamaica fleet.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Very respectfully and affectionately yours,
WM. EDEN.

In the following letter Lord Loughborough again returns to his fixed idea that a Coalition should be made between Lord North and Fox.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

'Dear Eden,—Every view that I take of our political situation confirms me in the ideas I wrote to you from Lincoln; and I likewise think, with Lord North and you, that it would not be well judged to form that system (which must ultimately be adopted) immediately, but only to cultivate the dispositions that appear on the other side, and keep his own friends in some union with each other. That some will detach themselves while they see no ostensible system is very certain, and I am not sure that there is any great disadvantage in it. We could well afford a detachment, if one had the picking of the troops to be detached.

I see by the "Gazette" that the Advocate has taken his part, and I conclude he has secured his office for life. Though you know I have a very high value for the Advocate, I am certain he cannot be so powerful a supporter of the present, as he was of the last Administration. The regard that he really feels, and that he must profess, whether he felt it or not, for Lord North, would be a restraint upon him in all points where the other takes a part; and I have no conception that Mr. Pitt and he will use whatever abilities can bear up an inefficient ostensible minister in the House of Commons. When he who ought to be the leader is only a follower, the pack will never hunt true.

I think it would be of use to insist that Charles Fox should keep out of Westminster Hall *, as a test that he wishes for a Coalition; and it would be a great gain to himself if he could detach himself from his mug-house friends.

I send you in return for your Irish letters, which are very curious, a letter† I had from Burke, in answer to a few lines of condolence I wrote to him from Sir John Sebright's. I arrived at this place to-day, after

* Mr. Fox's constituents held their meetings in Westminster Hall.

† This letter will be found in Lord Campbell's Life of Lord Loughborough.

having passed an entire week at Elford.* My reception from the lady† of the house was full of kindness; from the other, very easy and obliging, but so guarded that unless I had been fresh imported from Ireland, it would have been impossible to have made more of it; it was very kind at the same time, but that sort of kindness that had no kind of encouragement in it. I made no speeches, but have written a very polite and a very attentive letter from hence, which probably will conclude that scene. There were two Misses of the party besides, one of whom was so civil and so good-humoured in contriving little opportunities for me that signified nothing, that my gratitude to her was very near beginning to open another scene, and quite eclipsed Lady Anne's merit, which is more respectable than interesting.

This Buxton is an execrable place, and the waters had need to be very salutary, to reconcile one to the badness of all the other elements.

Sir W. Gordon‡ is the only person here of my very extensive acquaintance whom I ever saw before, and he leaves it on Monday. His politics are the same with mine, but he thinks the union impracticable. He has heard of some approaches being made, but the arrival of the Duke of Portland he supposes will defeat their effect, as he concludes his Grace is to be installed *Chef de Parti* immediately. I found a letter here from the Advocate, but merely of notification; there was, I understand, a form of asking Lord North's approbation, which would be given of course. My love to Mrs. Eden and all the nursery.

Yours ever,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Buxton, August 2nd.

* Lord Loughborough had been there on a matrimonial expedition. Elford was a seat of the Suffolk family.

† The lady of the house was Lady Andover. The other lady was probably the widow of Lord Suffolk, who died March 7th, 1779. Lady Andover was the mother-in-law of Lady Suffolk.

‡ Member for Portsmouth.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

My dear Eden,—The conversation held to you was perfectly in the character of the man*, and I fancy your firmness and indifference would disconcert him not a little. The affected slight with which he mentioned Lord Carlisle, reminds me of an observation I had long ago made upon him, that his art had a strong twang of a boarding-school education. It resembles much more a cunning woman's than an able man's address.

I have had a great deal of politics for the last two days with our friend his late Excellency†, who reckons very well in general, and has a pretty good guess of things. He holds the person you visited in great contempt, and he had good opportunity to know him both in and out of office. He is clear that the present system never can be well established, though he rather thinks those he lives most with mean to give it all their support; and he very justly says, that the timidity of one, the indolence of another, and the ferocity of a third have overset the Government, degraded themselves, and undone their friends. If his observation can be relied on, the country gentlemen have most bitterly repented their folly, and would rally most heartily under Lord North's standard, if he would but set it up. Against the delay which in my last letter I mentioned to you, as in my opinion as well as yours not unsalutary, there is, I think, a strong argument to be urged from the chance of some of the present Ministers, the Duke of Richmond, for instance, breaking off and deserting back to their old connections. This would make any Coalition much more difficult, and much less desirable; and I should not be for neglecting any fair opportunity of forming some union on fair terms between the only two parties which have a reasonable prospect of making a stable system.

* Lord Shelburne. † Sir William Gordon.

This place does not mend. When Sir W. Gordon leaves it to-morrow, I shall not have one acquaintance left, nor one person whose aspect invites acquaintance. There is a party here with Mr. Latouche of Dublin, which seems not disagreeable, but they very wisely live by themselves.

Yours ever,
LOUGHBOROUGH.

Buxton, Aug. 4th, 1782.

In the following letter Lord Loughborough gives his opinions on the Reform which Mr. Pitt was then advocating.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—By the negligence of the Postmaster at Tamworth, or perhaps by the mismanagement of the cross posts, which are in general very ill contrived, your letter of the 25th, with all the Irish inclosures, returned to London, and only arrived here this morning. Lest you might be uneasy at the fate of the letters, as I took no notice of that packet to you in my last, I return them, though I have no subject to write upon. It would be a wretched resource indeed for the whole set, if it could find no other head than the one you hint at, which nothing but female politics can ever exalt.

I would take any labour to form what I fancy would be a permanent system; but when formed, I am convinced the dispositions of those who must compose it are such, that I could have no satisfaction in acting with them (though they would have all the support I could give them) in any situation but one as loose and independent as my present: their merit with me is all comparative.

Lord Shelburne's idea of increasing the representation of the counties is a very gross absurdity; for it is founded on a notion of moderating that which it would encourage. The desire of new modelling the Government, which has by him and

others been so mischievously excited, can only be quieted by a steady adherence to the old Constitution. The reverence which still prevails for it, and the abhorrence of innovation which possesses sober men, gives great strength to encounter any given proposition of change. If these advantages are betrayed by Government, itself becoming the projector, he is a wise man who can foresee which project is most likely to prevail; and I could venture to prophesy, that in the end the wildest measure will force its way, and in the meantime the middle one will only serve to show the absurdity of its authors. It seems an act of egregious folly in any settled Government to step forth with a proposal to alter its foundations, and to address its subjects as if they had sprung up like myrmidons from the earth, and were assembled in a great plain to choose what Constitution they liked best.

Buxton grows worse every day: the weather is horrible; and you may guess to what I am reduced when I had no alternative all yesterday but to read the worst novels in a circulating stall, or play whist in a hot coffee-room for five hours.

Yours ever,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Aug. 6th, 1782.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham, Kent, August 8th, 1782.

My dear Lord, — I heartily wish that I could send you something to amuse you. Buxton, with such company and such weather, must be a mere hell upon earth, except only, that your devils are dull and harmless, and your climate wet and cold. I enclose you Martin's attack on George Ponsonby*: as it has not been reprinted in the English papers, you may like perhaps to read it. Martin was asked, why he would

* Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1806. Mr. Ponsonby was at one time leader of the Opposition in England.

attack so scurrilously a man with whom he had lived so much? He answered that nothing less than an intimate knowledge could have enabled him to say what he had said.

The Ponsonbys certainly grow unfashionable, for the Provost writes me a letter, apparently for the sake of disclaiming them and the Duke's* Government: and he talks of growing popular, and going into opposition. Gerard Hamilton† came to us on Tuesday and met Lees, and Mr.‡ and Mrs. Scott; they went away, and he staid all night. I had much pleasant conversation with him, but it turned chiefly on little anecdotes, and those too minute to be repeated. Lord Shelburne offered him the Secretaryship at War, and he declined it. I do not believe, however, that he would refuse the Vice-Treasuryship of Ireland, if it were offered to him; but he is as decided as we can be, in his opinion that the present frame of Government will not do, though he thinks that it may last till Christmas, and possibly later. He thinks that Lord Shelburne will be supported in essential points, and that his Government will be rolled in the dirt, in all the bye battles. He suspects that they are pushing violently for an immediate pacification, in the idea that Fox and the Cavendishes are pledged to support the conditions however bad. He thinks that some leading set of the friends of the old Government must ultimately decide on a new Administration, and talks of Lord Gower, Lord Carlisle, &c., as the ostensible names. He does not appear to me, to feel Fox's weight in the scale sufficiently. His visit was certainly by his own appointment, and he took very kindly to our nursery sort of life, and made love to your god-daughter. I send you an odd letter about poor Travers going to the grave in the same vehicle which carried his father.

* The Duke of Portland.

† Single-speech Hamilton.

‡ Attorney-General for Ireland during Lord North's Administration, afterwards Lord Earlsfort.

The Fosters have been with us, and are gone to Spa. The Scotts are going to Buxton: he is full of rheumatism and personal politics.

This is a strange season, and fit only for people in office. My wheat is laid, my oats which were ripe, are slaking, and my second crop of hay is chilled and checked; my pastures are wet, and poked full of holes by the horses. Our Guinea chickens dying of ague; pears and apples dropping in cart loads, melons grown rotten instead of ripe. I am wet up to the knees six times a day, and cannot get the sixth part of a day's work out of my day-labourers.

We cannot guess what lady struck your sentiment at Elford.

Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

Burke's melancholy letter did not greatly affect me.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham, Kent, August 10th.

My dear Lord,—I do not suppose that anything now directed to you at Buxton will find you there. It must be impossible for you to bear a purgatory of no pains, pleasures, interests, or amusements in such weather as we have had and continue to have.

I naturally grow fond of the fare which is set before me, and so I contrive to amuse myself with the mortifications of managing a corn harvest in the midst of heavy rains and high winds. We know little of either the gay or political world during the last week. The Burrels, Bennets, Ancasters, Dr. Calvert, and the Scotts, make up the list of all that we have lately seen. Scott is ordered to Cheltenham. He is in a strange shattered state; he looks as large as ever and is as weak as a rat. He is living with Macnamara. He advances but little in his pursuit of reparation. Lord Temple* shuns him, and professes

* Lord Temple was now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

the system of going to Ireland, divested of all prejudice, in order to do what may be right upon full information. From some little traits which I have heard of his Excellency, I suspect that he abounds more in self-confidence than in good sense.

And now for a strange story; though you probably will have heard it before you get this letter. Lord Trentham's * match is broken off. Lady Caroline † wrote a few days ago that she had a great value for him, but did not love him sufficiently to marry him. She certainly has been late in making this discovery; as the clothes were bought, settlements completed, and her lover came to Blenheim to execute. The Duke, who writes me the particulars, is much vexed at the incident. He says that Lord Trentham was to go the next day (Tuesday last) abroad for a year. He does not think that Lady Caroline has any other predilection. Mrs. Eden suspects that he must be mistaken in this, but thinks that if her Ladyship is at liberty she ought to marry Lord Egremont.

The Duke of Marlborough is very urgent with us to fix some time to pass a few days at Blenheim, and wishes much that you would be of the party. I should like best to go there about the last week in October, but I shall be glad to know what your plans are.

All well within doors, but in a bad way *sub Jove*.

Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

* Son of Lord Gower, afterwards first Duke of Sutherland.

† Lady Caroline Spencer, daughter of the Duke of Marlborough, married in 1792 to Lord Clifden.

CHAP. II.

Lord Loughborough at Buxton. — Arrival of the North Family. — "Cabinet Council." — Lord North's Irresolution. — Dispute between George Selwyn and Lord Weymouth. — Mr. Fox's Decision. — Lord North at Manchester. — Lord Loughborough strong for a Coalition. —Mr. Fox's Opinion that it depends upon Lord North.—Lord Loughborough's Marriage.—Mr. Eden at Court.—Parliament meets.—Preliminaries of Peace signed. — Peace signed. — Lord Loughborough violent against the Peace.— His "Testament Politique." — Lord Shelburne defeated on the Address. — The Coalition is formed. — Lord Shelburne again in a Minority. — Lord Shelburne resigns.

THE following letter will require some explanation as to the previous relations between Lords North, Loughborough, and Mr. Eden. Lord Loughborough, formerly Sir A. Wedderburn, had been Solicitor and Attorney-General, his cousin, Mr. Eden, Under-Secretary of State, in Lord North's Administration. They had been the confidential advisers of the Premier during the American War, and had endeavoured in vain to infuse determination into the counsels of their vacillating chief. Their advice was always counteracted by others. Lord North, the most amiable of men, generally agreed with the person he last conversed with.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Buxton, August 18th, 1782.

Dear Eden,—This place has agreed very well with me for the last ten days, or rather I have agreed better with it; for neither the weather, the company, nor the entertainment are different. The alteration is in myself; and I have had a strong proof of a lesson that age is apt to make us forget, that to be pleased depends on our own disposition and not on the objects around us. My neighbours are neither amusing nor interesting, but they are good-humoured, and I have found a quiet table of six persons, with

whom I dine and sup very comfortably upon roast mutton and batter pudding. The party consists of a Mr. and Mrs. Beresford* of this county, with their daughter. He is a sportsman, who has lived a little in the world, sometimes noisy but always civil. His wife has been very handsome, which she does not appear to remember, and is perfectly well-bred and sensible. 'Miss is a fine saucy girl between child and woman, who begins to know that eyes are not made only to see with. Willoughby Dixie†, whom you once knew, and two parsons who are here to kill moor game, are the rest of the party. Andrew Stuart arrived here two days ago, but has been of very little advantage to me yet. His first conversation was full of Shelburne politics, and I advised him to live with his sisters, who are here in a private house for a few days, and when he was fit to converse with us, I would make interest for his succeeding one of the parsons who is going away.

The Norths came here on Friday night, in the course of their tour; the ladies so fatigued that they could not leave their room. Lord North and Frederick supped with me in private: he is in very good spirits and just as undecided in a party of pleasure as he is in any other party. All the morning yesterday was spent in a council exactly similar to those we have so often attended in Downing Street. To see Castleton was a fixed point, from hence he was to proceed to Manchester, and the ladies were to have gone back to Matlock. I of course proposed that they should come back to Buxton, on which it immediately occurred that they might also go on to Manchester; and which of the three schemes should be preferred was not absolutely settled, when I reminded them that if they did not set out there would not be time to execute any of them. Stuart and I rode with them to Castleton, where no servant had been sent to provide for their reception, and the only room in the only

* The Irish Beresfords originally came from Derbyshire.

† Sir Willoughby Dixie, Bart., of Bosworth.

alehouse, together with the only leg of mutton in the place, were in the possession of another company. Fortunately that was Lord* and Lady Harrowby, with their son and daughter, who shared all with us very handsomely, and gave so warm a description of the beauty of the Devil's Cavern, that it was resolved that all the party should enter. Lord North's resolution failed at the first water, and after the second was passed, Miss A. North † and I were the only persons who had the least wish to advance; her brother was ashamed to be left behind, and the two abigails thought they could not in duty stay. The misery of the senior abigail was so ridiculous to Miss (who I fancy at some time of her life has felt some awe from her) that she would have undergone ten times the fatigue for so much laughing, and I never shall pass a merrier hour upon earth, than all the party (the abigail excepted) passed under ground. Lord North cut jokes upon the old woman of the cavern and the guides, which they perfectly understood, and were as well pleased with them as we were.

The conclusion of the party was, that none of the schemes proposed took place: they went to Dishley at night, and Stuart and I returned hither.

I am to make a visit to Matlock when the Norths return to it, which they propose to do about Wednesday next, and shall then probably have some farther conversation with Lord North on a subject which we had not much opportunity nor inclination to discuss here: as far as we did touch upon it, his idea seemed not very different from mine. Miss North has caught a disorder that has been frequent in this country, a sore mouth, which as it makes both eating and laughing a little painful, is as inconvenient to her as it would be to most people. She ordered me to send her love to Mrs. Eden: mine to her and all hers is constant.

Ever yours,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

* Nathaniel Ryder, first Lord Harrowby.

† Afterwards Lady Sheffield.

I can't indulge your curiosity yet about the young lady I saw at Elford, though I have not forgot her. Did you ever see a Miss Vickers at Dublin, sister to Mrs. Latouche? she is much handsomer than any Miss I saw here, and if she had not left this place when she did, I don't know what might have become of me.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham, Kent, August 22nd.

My dear Lord,—I know nothing new, and, indeed, have not seen anybody during the last five days, except Storer*, who came to us on Sunday, and proceeded the next day to Tunbridge, and Baron Hotham†, who with his lady dined here yesterday. Mrs. Eden is gone this morning to see the Lady Waldegraves and Miss Keppel, who are at Sir Peter Burrel's ‡, and if she brings back any intelligence of *bon ton* or gallantry, I will turn it to a postscript.

Charles Fox desired Storer to tell Lord North, in case he should see him, that he (Charles) always spoke with respect of his lordship. This led to a farther conversation, in which Charles was so good as to allow Lord North to have a good office, but by no means in any superintending situations: this he said was quite impossible. I wish to see Lord North, and before his mind is poisoned by people who are too eager to hurry him into office. Robinson's conversation last week with Scott was that of a settled devotee to Lord Shelburne; but he added that, though he thought Lord Shelburne's would be a permanent Government, he should be able to speak with more precision in a few days. My view of the matter at present is this: the Foxites and Shelburnites are utterly irreconcilable, and each set has a large class of transferable appendages, which might easily be attached to any well-formed Government. Under

* Anthony Morris Storer, George Selwyn's friend.
† Sir Beaumont Hotham, one of the Judges of the Exchequer.
‡ Afterwards Lord Gwydir.

these circumstances we might, I think, among us, mould and fashion the third party, in a way not unacceptable to the King or the public, and very useful to both: and I should trust this creed without hesitation to the Post-office, even if I supposed that my letter would be opened, which I do not think in any degree probable.

My brother* has in manly and most explicit terms authorised me to promise his steady support to any system that will not adopt the new-fangled doctrines. I think, too, that all the Marlboroughs, except Lord Robert, would be with us; and Mansfield, too, wishes to see himself in that class; Lord Lisburn and his brother, and Mr. Shafto, would accede with great heartiness on one very easy condition. Then, I see within our reach a large class of others, whose names I am afraid of committing to paper, though I think they would be perfectly well-disposed, and many of them zealous. Lord North, too, could on *very easy* terms answer for thirty or forty, quite as personal friends and followers; and all this mode of collecting about fourscore voices might be considered almost as the mere sprouting of goodwill, and the foliage of our tree; the trunk and large branches to be composed from the great offices and their adherents.

Selwyn had a dispute last week about the word "central" against Lord Weymouth, who espoused "centrical." The next day somebody came and told him that Charles Fox had decided against him; "Then," said Selwyn, "carry him my compliments with the following authority, from the 'Rape of the Lock':"—

> "Umbriel, a dusky melancholy sprite,
> As ever sullied the fair face of light,
> Down to the central earth, his proper scene,
> Repaired to search the gloomy cave of spleen."

When the anecdote was told me, the word melancholy was changed into much harsher epithets.

* Sir John Eden, M.P. for Durham county.

My best compliments to Stuart. I should perhaps feel more zeal for his friend in Berkeley Square*, if I also had been treated with a few flattering offers, even if I had not accepted them.

Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

Mansfield made us an extempore dinner visit to-day, and carries this to town: he has not heard anything new.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—I can write to you about nothing but the Norths, with whom I passed two very pleasant days at Matlock, and knew more of them in that time than in all my former acquaintance.

Politics are not a stronger trial of temper than a party of pleasure, in which there is nothing to make entertainment but the good humour of the company. We went jumbling for eight hours through the worst road in England to see some tattered tapestry at an old house of the Duke of Devonshire; and neither the fatigue, nor the danger, nor the scrambling meal of cold meat, nor the disappointment at finding nothing to see, were the least interruption to the cheerfulness of the day. I carried Mr. Dalton with me (who had come to spend some days with me here), and I never saw a man more surprised and delighted with the new society. Miss North, he says, is so agreeable, that it is impossible she should not be handsome; and one cannot believe one's eyes, when they inform you she is not. He was even disposed to be civil to Lady North's beauty, and he would do anything for Lord North. The natural good humour of the family was very much heightened by the acclamations with which Lord North was received at Manchester, which were very flattering to him, who had been more accustomed to have his carriage broken than drawn by a mob. The principal people of the town made a

* Lord Shelburne.

great entertainment for him, and some thousands followed him to every place he visited with the most cordial expressions of good will, and the most urgent intreaty that he would be Minister again. You know that he is not insensible to this, however he appears to make light of it, but his family enjoyed it all without the least reserve.

We had no serious conversation for above five minutes. He told me of all the applications that had been made to him, and one from a very high quarter. He thought very justly that none were sufficiently pointed to require any other conduct from him but to keep his friends united, to withstand any dangerous innovation. His line seems to me to be very well taken; but he is rather disposed to underrate his strength, which I am satisfied will be found superior to any other single corps; and it should be an object with those who see him to raise his ideas a little in that respect, and dispose him to some timely exertions, that he may be found in force when the occasion offers of employing it. Your account of the treaty broke off, surprised everybody but Miss North, who thought it a very natural incident, and did not think the worse of the lady for it.

The latter end of October will be a very good time for me, if you prefer going to Blenheim then; but all times are very much alike to me, and you may engage for me when you please on a week's warning. I have had an answer to my letter perfectly friendly, and no more; so that affair ends just where I thought it would, and where I now wish that it should.

I remain here another week, partly because the waters are of service to me, and partly because I want to see a little more of the country. From hence I go into Yorkshire, but I shall write to you again before my address changes. My love to Mrs. Eden and all her nursery.

Yours, ever most entirely,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Buxton, Aug. 24th.

My letter was too late for the post, and yours is arrived since I wrote it. Lord North stays about ten days at Wroxton, from hence he comes to Bushy for a few days in his way to Deal. It is very material you should see him, though at present he is not at all disposed to profess as Robinson* does: the Tories, above twenty, are certainly at his service. I think I may count on them, but I am much more certain of Sir John Anstruther. Lord Sheffeld is entirely with me; Gibbon and Payne you class with Lord North, I suppose.

It is clear to me that Lord North would outnumber any other party. He stated the overture made to him from Fox exactly as you understand it, and professing that he wished no more for himself, held the proposal in great derision, and justly.

25th August.

If you write soon to me, direct to be left at the Post Office at Ashbourne. In the next week direct to the care of Mr. Barnard, Attorney at law, Leeds.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham, Kent, Sept. 3rd.

My dear Lord,—Mansfield † has been with me again. He is very earnest for the demolition of Lord Shelburne's Government at any rate, and yet he has not fallen in love with Fox, with whom he had taken a morning's ride. Charles told him various good anecdotes of Lord Shelburne: they are, however, too slight to be inserted in a letter. Charles is not sanguine in his expectations, and says that the whole will depend on Lord North.

Storer came to me on Saturday, and proceeded yesterday to Castle Howard. I have a letter from

* "Jack Robinson," Secretary of the Treasury in Lord North's Government.

† James Mansfield, afterwards Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

that quarter, renewing political speculations, expressing strong resentment against the premier of the day for his neglect, and intimating that his intentions towards the House of Trentham* are also unsatisfactory.

The game is certainly in Lord North's hands, if he would play his cards like any other man so circumstanced; but all the old irresolutions, procrastinations, quiescences, and lazinesses, will operate more than ever. In short, I am haunted by the old proverb, "That it is impossible to make a silk purse of a sow's ear," whenever I try to reduce that business to any operative system.†

Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

London.

The next letter announces the marriage of Lord Loughborough.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

My dear Eden, — The lady who struck my sentiments at Elford will very soon be your cousin. We happened, not altogether without some management on my part, to meet again. In thanking her for her civil though useless attentions to me, I insensibly got to say a great deal more which was not ill received; and as she very frankly told me, how much she had said for me, there could be but one reason for her declining to take the advice she had given. Happily no such reason existed, and everything was very soon settled between us. There is a fate that lights us to our ends; and I trust with full confidence that the star which guided me to Elford has

* Lord Carlisle had married the daughter of Lord Gower, afterwards Marquis of Stafford.

† The irresolution of Lord North was natural, for whilst Lord Loughborough and Mr. Eden were advising him to coalesce with Fox, Jenkinson, Dundas, and Robinson were advising him to support Lord Shelburne.

pointed out to me a very certain road to happiness. You may conclude that the lady has every merit in my eyes; but I will tell you fairly my opinion of her before I became partial. She is not a beauty, nor a wit, nor a fortune, neither does she profess any talents; but she has a good figure, a great deal of countenance, a very right understanding, and an exceedingly pleasant temper. We have agreed that it is much better to escape all conversation by a speedy conclusion, which will take place in a very few days; and I shall make use of your name, without waiting for your consent, in a very short settlement.

Mrs. Eden will by this time be a little impatient to know what other name is to be found in that settlement; Charlotte Courtenay* is the name that I trust will not be found long in any other place, and I shall be very much disappointed if she does not give my Charlotte the preference to any of that name she ever knew, except my god-daughter. I am very sure she will have no better friend.

I shall leave this neighbourhood (where I was obliged to come for a few days) on Sunday. The scheme, at present, is that we should come to town immediately. The chance of any letter finding me, is not worth the trouble of writing. If my route should be altered, I will let you know.

Yours ever most sincerely,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Wakefield, Sept. 5th, 1782.

Keep my secret for a few days after you have received my letter.

Lord North to Mr. Eden.

Wroxton, Sept. 6th.

If Mrs. Eden and you will dine and pass the evening with us, you will be sure of finding us at Bushey, from Wednesday next to the Monday after. I shall be happy to see you, as the time stands

* Daughter of the first Viscount Courtenay.

in great need of your information and advice. I do not feel myself of the importance which people are so good as to attribute to me, but if I can assist my friends, it will give me great pleasure, provided that I neither prejudice the public, nor contradict the principles I have always professed, and which are the real principles of my heart. I should add, that neither my inclination, nor conscience, will permit me to undertake any difficult office in such arduous times as these, when the public may suffer irreparable damage by my inefficiency.

Our best compliments to Mrs. Eden. During this bad summer, we have sincerely pitied the poor farmers of Beckenham, but a delightful autumn is coming on to make you amends. Adieu, dear Sir.

Believe me ever,
Sincerely yours,
NORTH.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham, Kent, Sept. 23rd —82.

My dear Lord,—It is, I trust, superfluous to assure you, that you and Lady Loughborough have my warmest and most affectionate wishes for your mutual happiness, and so we will let that subject rest till we meet; I am sorry, however, to collect from your Buxton letter, that our meeting will not be quite so soon as I had expected. Let us know as soon as you can fix a plan for passing a couple of days with us here. The Paynes come to us on the 12th or 13th. With very little contrivance we could accommodate you at the same time, and could make out a pleasant party. We continue bound to the Blenheim scheme for the 25th of October: I make no doubt that the Duke and Duchess will muster courage sufficient to invite Lady Loughborough and you, but I suppose that you will both be too busy in arranging your house at Bedford Square, to accept the invitation. I love Blenheim, but shall move from this place with

reluctance, for we are very comfortable here and extremely busy.

I have, since I wrote last to you, made two digressions from my farming system; the one to Bushey* for two days, and the other to a levée and drawing room. I received a letter from Lord North before I saw him; it expressed a proper estimate of his own situation, and a disposition to use it to any purpose beneficial to the public and his friends. He arrived here on the Wednesday night from Blenheim, we went to him on the Thursday. He had seen Robinson that morning; Robinson had been tampering with Lord Shelburne through Orde†, and had persuaded himself that Lord North ought to avow a system of general support. Lord North in discussing the matter with me, concluded in being clearly of opinion that he ought not to take any decided line at present, nor to pledge himself in the slightest degree; but that we should rather arrange a plan of communication and conference with friends, and whenever his strength can be ascertained, to act according to the existing circumstances, and according to the degree of proper and honourable confidence which may be tendered, ever preserving consistency and the Constitution as far as may be possible. Rigby was with him on the Saturday, and he came to me on Wednesday before he went to Walmer, and then continued in the same sentiment, after having been at the levée.

My visits to St. James's were in consequence of a very friendly letter to Mrs. Eden and me from Lord Grantham relative to our two brothers, in which he said that under the persuasion of its being agreeable to us, he had submitted to the King to send Stepney to Berlin, Morton Eden‡ to Dresden, and Hugh Elliot to Copenhagen. Dresden is in truth the particular appointment which Morton has long coveted, and

* Bushey Park, Lord North lived there.

† Afterwards Chief Secretary in Ireland, created Lord Bolton 1797.

‡ Mr. Eden's brother, created 1799 an Irish peer with the title of Lord Henley.

which, consequently, I have long wished to obtain for him: it is a pleasant and respectable situation, and the expenses are not unequal to the pay. Lord Grantham added, that this move from a royal to an electoral court would not check his further advancement; as to that, however, I shall feel little present anxiety. Hugh's* appointment is not precisely what he would have wished; but 2000*l.* a year, with Madame Elliot at Copenhagen, is certainly better than 550*l.* a year in England, to which Charles Fox (in pure friendship towards Sir Gilbert†) was reducing him, exclusive of the mortifying circumstance of being driven from his line with an unfavourable imputation. Copenhagen is a dull court and desperately cold.

Their Majesties were exceedingly gracious to us, and went into the whole detail of our farm; and the King seemed to think this way of life so very beneficial to my health, that he cannot be so cruel as to have the most distant idea of ever calling me from it. Lord Shelburne took the occasion to tell me in very obliging terms, that though the recommendations of the two last Lord-Lieutenants could not be complied with, the two small businesses for which he understood me to have an anxiety, had been asked by him as favours to himself, and would be done (300*l.* a year to Cooke‡, and 100*l.* to W. Ferguson). I thanked him for the attention, which by the bye will be felt very unpleasantly at Castle Howard. He afterwards said that I never called, though he told me that he was always at home to me, and wished much that I would come some morning. I turned the conversation to general remarks. No particular day was fixed. He was hurried off to the Closet, and so we separated.

I had some conversation with Rigby; but for the latter and the particulars of the various things here

* Hugh Elliot, late Minister at the Court of Frederick the Great, recalled by Mr. Fox.

† Sir Gilbert Elliot.

‡ Mr. Edward Cooke had held a subordinate office under Mr. Eden, when Chief Secretary of Ireland; he was afterwards Under-Secretary.

referred to, I will defer you to our meeting. You are too well engaged to enter into such subjects, and Colonel Smith, who is come to breakfast with us, waits to carry this to London with him. He brings no news, but saw Keppel yesterday.

Believe me, my dear Lord,

Ever respectfully and affectionately yours,

W. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

My dear Lord,—I have a letter from Lord North, containing in very strong and pointed terms the same sentiments as those which you feel on the offer made by Sir G. Carleton and Admiral Digby.* I would inclose it to you, but I am not certain from what you say that this packet will find you, so I will keep it till we meet. He says that he has written to many of his friends to desire their attendance; that he wishes to have meetings and communications, and to act in concert "for the public welfare." He does not think that the Ministers have any plea in defence of their gratuitous recognition of American Independence, without the interference of Parliament, and he inveighs against this base treatment of the royalists. He says that Mr. Fox's proposal in Cabinet was for a recognition to be asked in Parliament; if so, I am happy that things are no worse, for in the base and pitiful folly of that period, Mr. Fox could have carried anything.

I am now told that Lord Shelburne's language is that he was only ministerial in signing, yet I doubt whether Fox will not be ingenious enough to find a distinction to unite with us against the measure.

I understand that the Ministers are moving heaven and earth (I use the expression quite descriptively of the effort and not of the means) to open some Congress

* Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby had offered terms of peace to America.

in Europe, or other ostensible channel to a pacification before the meeting of Parliament. They offered to Spain Gibraltar for Porto Rico. France wants peace, but finds the attainment of it an unwieldy transaction where so many parties must be consulted. Holland cannot be worse circumstanced, and wishes to try another year. Franklin is not eager for peace ; and as to indemnifying the royalists, he says that the Congress have no such power, the forfeitures having been in the separate legislatures.

Lord Carlisle's* dislike to the present state of public affairs would not be quite so lively, if he had not experienced much more personal disregard from the present Minister than he ought in honour to bear, but he has taken a fine house in Piccadilly.

I am not yet well able to write much, so I will conclude here.

My dear Lord,
Very affectionately yours,
W. Eden.

The following letters of Lord Loughborough are without date, but were certainly written just before the Coalition was actually formed. The preliminaries of peace with America had been signed on the 30th of November.

Parliament met on the 5th of December, but still the preliminaries of peace with France and Spain remained unsettled.

On the 23rd there was an adjournment for a month, and the preliminaries with France and Spain were signed on the 20th January.

Lord Loughborough thought that the time was now come when a deadly blow might be levelled at Lord Shelburne's Administration.

* Lord Carlisle resigned on learning the terms of the Peace.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—I should be much obliged to you, if you would fix a time to-morrow or Sunday, to meet Mr. Newdigate at my house, as I want your joint authority to enable me to receive Lady Loughborough's fortune, which Lord Courtenay is to pay this term; and Newdigate's stay in town will be very short. Could you dine here on Sunday?

I have seen and heard a great variety of people on the subject of the Peace. They all think it as infamous as I do, and they all assert that this opinion spreads very much. In another point they agree also that Lord North may decide upon the merit of the Peace and the fate of the Ministry; but if he neglects his opportunity, he will not in a month's time have more influence than Lord Newhaven.*

Some think that he may take either part and name his own terms; others, with much better ground, hold that the publication of the articles has left him but one part to take. I had not considered him till yesterday, and I have no doubt that Lord North is the most undone man in this country, if he does not mark his utter disapprobation of them. If by his means they pass without censure, Lord Shelburne may and will beat him as he pleases, and his friends will be the outcast of every party. The reproach and obloquy of the Peace which must rise every day, will all be transferred to him; and he decides that so dishonourable and ruinous a Peace was the necessary effect of his measures, if he does not boldly oppose it.

I have been strongly urged to go to him by our friend Ellis.† Do you think it can do any good? The case is very different from what I thought it was when I wrote to you. There is now but one part to

* An Irish peer.

† Welbore Ellis had succeeded Lord George Germaine, as Secretary of State in Lord North's Government.

advise—to make terms with those who are against the Peace. Whoever supports it, will be more blasted than those who made it.

Yours ever,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

All those I saw last night murmur greatly at Lord North. If he delays any longer he will find a great many of his friends declare themselves independent, and will be joined to Lord Shelburne, in the abuse at least that the Treaty deservedly meets with.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—After I left you, I committed to writing my thoughts on the present state of parties.

In the evening I went from Payne's to Lord North, and found him quite alone: reserved in his own part of the conversation, but very ready to hear mine. If he had made any confidence to me, I should have desired him to open himself to you; but I should have kept his secret. He told me nothing, and yet I am satisfied that I know his plan. He will not connect himself with Fox, but means, finally, to support Lord Shelburne: he will object to parts of the Treaty, but not vehemently; he will easily avoid dividing against it, but whatever is moved, will be qualified as he pleases. He will oppose, strenuously and successfully, the change of the Constitution; after which some arrangement will be formed for a few of his friends, in which he will acquiesce, without perhaps taking office himself, but with a certainty of having one when he thinks fit. This is a bad game, and I am afraid it will be ill played. The only fact told me was one that all the town will know to-day. The Advocate* gave a dinner on Satur-

* Mr. Dundas.

day to Lord Shelburne; Rigby, Lord Lewisham, and Mr. North were of the party. The world would not suppose that they or Lord North were unapprised of the company they were to meet. Lord North dines at the Advocate's next Saturday. I don't suppose Lord Shelburne will be of that party, but Mr. Orde, perhaps; I don't believe you will be invited. This incident has not all the weight with me that the public will give to it, for my idea of Lord North's line was formed before it was mentioned.

This is neither a safe nor a handsome manner of opening a game with Lord Shelburne.

I am heartily vexed that Lord North should throw away the great influence he now possesses; but for the rest, I am very willing to shut out all politics.

Yours ever,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

In the following instructions Lord Loughborough points out the course that ought to be pursued by Lord North's party.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—As a spectator, who has not even a bet depending, I will give you my opinion on the present state of the game.

As the party now stands, it is Lord North's turn to play, and if he passes he gives up. There are but three possible ways of playing; by himself, with Lord Shelburne, or with Fox.

As to the first: the true state of his cards is*, that he has but one matadore, a tolerable suit or two, and a great many small trumps. To drop the metaphor: there is no man of that degree of consideration amongst those connected with him, as to compel Lord North to make any sacrifice in order to procure for that person any given situation, and I hold that to be a great advantage. Lord North's party consists of

* The game here alluded to, is ombre.

some respectable friends who are attached to him from honour and inclination, a great many others who build their own fortunes upon his, and another description of men who think he will be a bulwark against any inroads upon the Constitution. If, with a party so composed, he should decide to stand by himself, he would for some time make a very respectable appearance. When the danger to the Constitution is averted, the last set of friends would be very warm in their esteem, but very cool in their attachment. They would support, but they would not oppose with him, and at any rate their numbers would necessarily disappear, for it is not the nature of such troops to keep the field long. The second description would be very liable to desertion: if their expectations were urgent, they would go over to the Minister, or if their resentments were strongest, they would fall into the most active opposition. The end, and that a very speedy one, of playing a separate game, would be that Lord North would feel his consequence and influence really diminished, and his sincere and steady friends would be the sufferers by it. This part, therefore, is clearly the worst, and he can pursue it no longer than he has done.

If he were to accede to Lord Shelburne, on whatever terms, Mr. Fox remains with a great party in connected opposition, and the odium of a bad peace will then be added to the odium revived of an unsuccessful war. Lord Shelburne will be discharged of a great part of all the blame which would otherwise fasten upon him; and with all that load of unpopularity, the Administration is to undertake, against a very active and not a very scrupulous opposition, to compose Ireland; to regulate our new situation with respect to America; to restore commerce and heal the wounded interests of every ancient branch of it; to settle and protect the East Indies; and to allay domestic discontents by checking the spirit of innovation.

Such would be the state of things supposing an union with Lord Shelburne, on such terms as Lord

North should prescribe; but that is a very unreasonable supposition. Lord Shelburne in possession, can never offer these terms.

An union with Mr. Fox has undoubtedly many disadvantages: one that will instantly occur to you, I think more considerable in appearance than in reality. The prejudices of Lord Shelburne were very soon removed, and even the Duke of Richmond's behaviour did not obstruct his way.

Many of Lord North's friends think ill of Mr. Fox, but none of them despise him; for one, I certainly have no reason to like him, but I am persuaded that without him there can be no steady Government. By a connection with him the Peace will be left to stand upon its own demerits, and the blame of the war will no longer be its defence, nor furnish topics of declamation; and if he believed himself fixed in Government, he would be zealous enough to support it in all essential articles at home and abroad.

Upon what terms an union could be formed with him I do not pretend to know. But the terms to be made between two parties out of power ought naturally to be more advantageous than those which a Minister can offer. Where is the difficulty, however, to bring that matter to the test immediately? If Fox admits Lord North's consequence in the extent that he ought; that is, if he admits that he ought to choose his own situation, there needs no detail, their friends will be satisfied with that arrangement; and I think better of Fox's understanding than to doubt that he would wish to give Lord North the Treasury.

If, however, Fox has not settled that point in his own mind, I am equally clear that the alternative then must be to unite with Lord Shelburne; for Lord North would lose his credit and his friends by any concession that would throw the Government into Fox's hands. This would, in my apprehension, make it necessary to choose the other game, though I think it the worst of the two for the public, and for individuals.

Having stated to you my ideas of the best and of the second best game, it now remains to state to you how I think they should be played. Supposing the trial made with Fox, and that it does or does not succeed; in making which trial there is not a moment to be lost.

First supposing that it succeeds, I think the Peace is to be attacked in every way, except by an open division against it. No honourable epithet of the lowest denomination should be suffered to be tacked to it, nor would it be very difficult to intimidate the Administration from using any phrase of honourable, advantageous, adequate, or any synonymous expression. Thanks for the Peace I should not wish to oppose, but everything beyond that dry mark of respect. That business over and the change of the representation, it would then be an easy matter to frame a motion for an address, recommending every attention that had been omitted in the articles of the treaty, and to season it so that it must be opposed; the nation would follow that call, the motion would be carried, and the Government of course transferred to abler men than those who wanted such a lesson.

But supposing the experiment does not succeed, and that Lord North must play the game with Lord Shelburne, in that case his line at present must be to provoke some discourse upon the terms of peace, to put Lord Shelburne in doubt. He may not oppose them, and in that way (the only one in my apprehension to oblige the other to make advances) induce Lord Shelburne to make him a proposition; for I am very certain that in their relative situations, whoever makes the first move, gives the other a decisive advantage.

I have now made my *testament politique:* I should have given it verbally to Lord North, but I foresee that I shall not meet with him so soon as I ought; the occasion is slipping from him.

I must not send it to him, for he is careless about papers, but I appoint you executor.

LOUGHBOROUGH.

On the 17th of February the terms of Peace came on for discussion in the Houses of Parliament. In the House of Lords, the Address was carried by 69 votes to 55. In the House of Commons, the Ministers were defeated by 224 to 208, on an amendment* to the Address moved by Lord John Cavendish.

The Coalition was now completed, and the amendment carried by Lord John Cavendish was followed up by another censuring the terms of Peace. Lord John's second amendment was carried by a majority of 17 on the 19th of February.

The following letters of Mr. Fox are written while the struggle was proceeding.

Mr. Fox to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—I send you inclosed a draught of the Resolutions thought of; but as I have neither been able to see Lord North nor Lord John Cavendish to-night, I think it will be next to impossible to come forward with them to-morrow. I wish, however, you would show them to Lord North, and on to-morrow I will endeavour to see Lord John, and if possible Lord North too, before the House meets, and settle as well as the time will permit, whether anything and (if anything) what we can do, or give notice of, in the House.

Yours ever,

C. J. Fox.

St. James's Street, Tuesday night.

Mr. Fox to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—I did not receive your note till so late, that, considering your early hours, I thought it was in vain to try to see you. I have not seen George North

* Horace Walpole describes this amendment thus: "It was a temperate and very artful one, declared against infringing the Treaty, though announcing that the House would consider the terms." The advice given in this *testament politique* was followed.

all day. I meant to have called upon Lord North in the morning, if I had not laid in bed most part of the day. I will, at all events, see him to-morrow, for though I do not know your particular reasons, there are obviously many, why no time should be lost. It may be well worth considering what further steps are to be taken in the House of Commons, if Lord Shelburne should be desperate enough not to resign immediately.

Yours ever,

C. J. Fox.

St. James's Street, Saturday night.

CHAP. III.

The Coalition Administration.—Anger of Lord Loughborough.—Gibbon and Lord Sheffield. — The King's first Attempt to overthrow the Ministry.— Mr. Fox's India Bill.— Alarm of Mr. Eden and Lord Loughborough. — The Bill carried triumphantly through the House of Commons. — Letter of Adam Smith.

IMMEDIATELY after his defeat in the House of Commons, Lord Shelburne tendered his resignation*, but no successor was appointed till the 2nd of April following. The reason of this was, that the King resisted to the last the entry of the Coalition into office.

The King requested Lord Gower, Mr. Pitt, and others, to accept the vacant Premiership. Mr. Pitt, at one time, was supposed to have consented, but on consideration wisely determined that the time was not yet come when he could brave the majority of the House of Commons, with hopes of success. At last the King was obliged to send for Lord North; and although he attempted to prevent the Duke of Portland from being the chief of the Administration, and to keep his friend, Lord Thurlow, as Chancellor, he in the end gave way, and the new Ministers kissed hands on their appointment.

The Duke of Portland was First Lord of the Treasury, Lord North and Mr. Fox, Secretaries of State, Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

No Chancellor was appointed, the Great Seal being put in commission, and Lord Loughborough was appointed First Commissioner. Mr. Eden became Vice-Treasurer of Ireland.

* Lord Shelburne resigned on the 24th of February.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden, — The Administration that was supposed to be forming yesterday, will not exist for a week, if men are convinced that it is only an illusion to withdraw Lord Shelburne for a little time, carry one or two measures, dissolve the Parliament, and then reinstate him. This is so natural a supposition, that it will not require much pains to persuade the public of it. Lord Gower professedly only lends his name for forming some Government, which can only be that of Lord Shelburne, with Jenkinson, and that must be founded on a dissolution of Parliament. If this idea spreads, no man will go over from Lord North's party; and there will be a much warmer zeal excited against this trick, than hath yet appeared against any public measure.

The adjournment is unfortunate, because it would have been easy to have conveyed this idea to all the House, and given a very warm alarm; but if people are active, half the House may be convinced of it before Friday; and the reception it will meet with on Friday will not leave this Ministry a much longer term than their predecessors under Lord Granville had in the last reign.

Yours ever,
LOUGHBOROUGH.

Wednesday.

The following is a copy of Lord North's letter to the King. The copy is in the handwriting of Mr. Eden. Lord North had refused the Premiership.

"Lord North has the honour to inform His Majesty, that pursuant to His Majesty's wishes, Mr. Fox and his friends would assist in forming the new Administration, in which it would be His Majesty's desire, that they should accept of great, honourable, and efficient offices."—Lord North added that it was His Majesty's intentions, that the Office of First Lord of

the Treasury should be filled by some Peer not at the head of any party.

Mr. Fox, in the name of his friends, informed Lord North* that they could not make part of any Administration, unless the Duke of Portland should be at the head of the Treasury.

March 4th, 2 P. M.

Communicated to Mr. Fox, previous to its being sent.

The following indignant letter shows the natural disappointment of Lord Loughborough on not being Chancellor.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—Burke called upon me this moment, and told me that the only obstacle to an entire arrangement was Lord North's attachment to the Chancellor.† I would not do so unchristian an act as to assist him with any means of overcoming that pious and charitable scruple of Lord North's, but it would be a singular event in politics, and prove most strongly the advantage of insolence, brutality, and treachery, if a hopeful arrangement in other respects should fail from Lord North's affection to the *beaux yeux* of the Chancellor. If he had had the whole distribution in his own hands, I should have advised him, in order to form a better connection with the object of his passion, to separate for a few days at least, to make the reconciliation of more value. But if he adheres to this difficulty, I shall think that he will not satisfy his other friends, so easily as he will satisfy me. I forgot to tell you to-day that Mansfield will be well satisfied with an assurance of coming on the bench, as Wallace‡ informs me; but neither Wallace nor he, nor Lee‡, will think their own situations of much value if the Chancellor continues.

* The King was very anxious that Lord North should be Prime Minister instead of the Duke of Portland.

† Lord Thurlow.

‡ Wallace and Jack Lee became Attorney and Solicitor-General in the new Government.

Burke is full of Lord North's praises in all other respects; many handsome observations of the Duke of Portland to the same effect.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Half-past nine.

Dear Eden, — Lord North came to me about eight o'clock, and staid with me an hour. He began with a communication of his appointment (as if I had not heard it), and proceeded to all the topics that he seems to have discussed with you. After all this, he touched slightly on my own situation, asking who would be Chancellor?—I answered short, not I. Would the Chief Baron?—I believe not, but I could not tell. Will nobody?—I said yes, I did not doubt that Erskine would. But that won't do. Will Wallace?—Better send to him; I can't answer for any man who is very fit for the office, from my own conjectures. These interrogations at last led to a sort of half-jealous inquiry, whether I had not been spoken to, to be Speaker of the House of Lords. I told him then fairly the conversation Mr. Fox had held to me, and the state in which I had left that point, together with the civility that Burke had expressed in the Duke of Portland's name. He hinted to me that there was no lawyer in the Cabinet, and that, for his own part, he should have great occasion for a legal friend. I told him that my law was at his service, but for the Cabinet, I did not wish to enter it; that I should feel myself neglected, if I was not in a commission for the Great Seal; and as to presiding in the House of Lords, (if Lord Mansfield declined it) I did not wish, but should not refuse it.

At the close of his conversation, I asked him whether your business was settled?—He said no; he was going about that and a thousand other difficulties to the Duke of Portland. I could not draw him into any discussion upon it. His whole conversation was kind, but

not the least frank: mine was in the same style; on both sides perfectly good-humoured, and perfectly vague. I told him precisely that I did not consider myself as having received any distinct offer, and let him understand that my conduct would depend on the treatment I received. He seemed quite undecided whether to quit the House of Commons or not, afraid of the House of Lords, and of the abuse that he should receive in the place he left. My opinion is that he will be re-elected.

I shall see you in the morning at your house, unless you can call here before ten. Yours ever,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

The following letter is from Lord Sheffield*, the editor of Gibbon's works.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.†

D. S. 13th June, 1783.

Nothing extraordinary except that the tax on receipts has passed with little difficulty, notwithstanding petitions and instructions against it from every part of England. The number of expresses that arrived on Tuesday is hardly credible.

The taxes should always be carried through as quickly as possible. My constituents took the trouble of sending me a petition against the tax, accompanied by several most strenuous letters, but it happened that I voted for it. As to the matters you left depending, Lord North flatters me daily, that he thinks the business of the provincial corps will meet little difficulty, and that all the officers, *my clients*, as he calls them, should have half-pay, but nothing is done.

However, there is a want of estimates and particulars which are necessary before anything can be proposed.

The taxes being passed, the next great object is the

* John Holroyd, created, 9th of January 1781, an Irish peer, with the title of Lord Sheffield of Dunamore, County Meath.

† Mr. Eden was in Ireland.

establishment of the Prince of Wales. I understand there will be considerable opposition. Possibly you may have heard that the King is to give up 50,000*l.* which is to be made up 80,000*l.* The common opinion is that it is to be 100,000. No bad opportunity for Ministers to oblige friends. I think it would be more prudent to give the 100,000*l.*, lest the Prince with his Court should join the Opposition for the purpose of getting the 20,000*l.*

Gibbon and I have been walking about the room and cannot find any employment we should like in the intended establishment. He agrees with me, that the place of dancing-master might be one of the most eligible for him, but he rather inclines to be painter, in hopes of succeeding Ramsay. I believe Denoyer's office is most lucrative, and snug, and fittest for a country gentleman.

Our friend Lord Loughborough has carried his ladyship to Brighton to be washed, and if it suits her, there is some talk of her remaining there.

In short, Charles Fox made the best speech I have heard on a tax. Sheridan trains on as a man of business and attention, and George North as well as Lord North are to be found at the office.

My parliamentary fervour cannot hold out more than ten days longer. Thank God Burke is quiet.

I shall be very glad to hear Mrs. Eden held out well; she seems the least troublesome of the sex. I also hope the brat did not tumble overboard, and that when you return there is a chance of a congress in Sussex. Having written to Foster lately, I have nothing to say to him. Remember me properly where proper.

Yours most faithfully,

SHEFFIELD.

I must not forget to tell you that I am a kind of deputy for you in your absence.

N.B.—The printer tells me a second edition of "Observations" will be very shortly wanted.

Lord Holland relates in his memoirs that Lord Townshend said "he had always foreseen the Coalition Ministry would not last, for he was at Court when Mr. Fox kissed hands, and observed George III. turn back his ears and eyes just like the horse at Astley's, when the tailor he had determined to throw was getting on him." The King made his first attempt to dislodge the Ministry, on the proposal of the grant to the Prince of Wales. Lord Temple was consulted, and the Ministers expected their dismissal. However, the King, it is said, by the advice of Lord Thurlow, abandoned his intention.

Sir Ralph Payne to Mr. Eden.

My dear Sir,—I scribble these few lines to you in some degree of hurry. They are only to inform you that within the last eight-and-forty hours, the political atmosphere has assumed a very cloudy aspect. The message which the House of Commons has expected for two days past from the King, seems to be still at some distance. His Majesty declines signing it, and all the world are speculating on the cause. You know how inconsequent, and of course how uninformed a man I am, and as you cannot place much value upon my opinion of matters, I shall hardly venture to give it to you. I will, however, tell you one or two facts. The Duke of Portland carried the message to the King, on Friday last, for his signature, when the King appeared in a very good humour, and desired him to send it, with some other papers, to be signed at Windsor. Lord Temple was afterwards with the King, between two and three hours; and when the Duke of Portland sent the message according to the King's order to Windsor, His Majesty returned it unsigned, with a very angry letter; the contents of which, as some say, were reproaches on some of the Ministry for encouraging the Prince of Wales's prodigality, &c., but this I don't give you as part of my *fact*, I only vouch for the letter being full of displeasure.

Yesterday, on Mr. Pitt's motion for committing his Regulation Bill, Ministry at first strenuously opposed the Speaker's leaving the chair, but they did not choose to try the question, and the Speaker was suffered to quit the chair without a division. The Ministers certainly had a meeting this morning, and the Duke of Portland's resignation was much talked of to-day in the House of Commons, but everything (at least to such vulgars as myself) is yet mysterious. The Advocate was, it is said, suspended in his office as Advocate, two days ago, but it is said and believed that Mr. Pitt sent an express this morning to him, to bring him to Town. In short, a change is shrewdly suspected, and Keene's* face, which is at least an ell in length, demonstrates that in his opinion, all is not right. Lord Temple is to be First Lord of the Treasury; say the gentlemen "on the other side of the House." I confess that I am not easy—I mean for my friends—being myself an independent town gentleman with no office, nor even the hopes of one, having for several weeks past viewed the perspective, which the noble lord† in the blue riband has held to me in his camera obscura, with ineffable contempt. Infamously treated, however, as I feel myself to have been, I can't afford to lose a Lord-Lieutenant‡, a Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and a First Commissioner of the Seals at one stroke. I pray, therefore, most devoutly, that by to-morrow's post I may be able to inform you that His Majesty is grown agreeable again, and that the ship has again righted, and is pursuing her navigation with a flowing sail. If you don't hear from me, be satisfied that I have nothing to say.

Pray send me one line, or rather one word, which is the day on which you mean to leave Ireland. Harris has accepted the Hague, so I lay aside my Dutch

* Colonel Keene, a devoted follower of Lord North. He had a place in the Lord Chamberlain's department.

† Lord North. ‡ Lord Northington.

grammar. Pray tell Mrs. Eden that I kiss her hands, and that Lady Payne left all her young sisters well this morning at Beckenham.

I am ever and ever yours, my dear Sir,
most affectionately,
R. PAYNE.

I beg of you not to say to a soul that you have heard from me, as I have not yet had time to write a single line to the Lord-Lieutenant.

The session closed on July 16th.

The following letters were written during the recess.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

I was very glad to hear Mrs. Eden and you had returned safe.

I wish I had been in the way of being one of the customers at Beckenham. I should have liked ocular demonstrations of your safety. As to the seven quarters of corn per acre from the poor gravel of Beckenham, I must impute something to the lively imagination of a young farmer.

Gibbon has baffled all arrangements: possibly you may have heard at Bushy or Bedford Square, of a continental scheme.* It has annoyed me much, and of all circumstances the most provoking is, that he is right; a most pleasant opportunity offered. His seat† in Parliament is left in my hands. He is here. In short, his plan is such, that it was impossible to urge anything against it.

As to our other friend‡, I wished him to accept the barony, but the wisdom of his relation solemnly pronounced it would be disgraceful.

He brought Fox's letter to me here incontinently; I had the satisfaction of sending him away after a

* Gibbon left England in order to reside at Lausanne.
† Lymington. ‡ Probably Sir Ralph Payne.

few hours in perfect good humour with Ministers. As to their being steady and settled, I wish it more than ever, after that dirty, shabby, ill-judged, characteristic attempt, on the subject of Prince of Wales's establishment.

The present Administration seems to have at least one advantage—there is not a disposition in the principals to supplant or take rascally advantage. I am very sorry to hear Lord Loughborough has been so much indisposed. Till I received your letter, I supposed it only a salutary visitation of the gout.

As to my authorship, I cannot write with due patience on that subject. You promised to send observations, &c. on the work*: I have received none. A second edition has been printed; it has waited some time for several very curious tables which you will like to see. The pamphlet is more than doubled, and unfortunately for you, if you intend to read it, the new part is so interlarded, that I cannot point out how you may save time. It is much altered, and I conceive every article to be better, as also the summing up.

I have directed Debrett to deliver the new edition when you send for it. Finally, I know little of the politics of Ireland, but the selection of demagogues only for privy councillors is a bad symptom.

Pray present Lady Sheffield and me to Mrs. Eden.

I am, most sincerely, yours faithfully,

Sheffield Place, Aug. 7th, 1783. SHEFFIELD.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham, Kent, Aug. 25th, 1783.

My dear Lord,—We are anxious to know that you and Lady Loughborough are well, and that the discipline of a Buxton residence does you service; Sir William Gordon and the Coopers will help the society of the place very much.

* Lord Sheffield's "Observations on the Commerce of the American States."

We continue to exist, in a sort of inactive cheerfulness, much as you left us. Seldom without company, but not crowded. We have lately had Mr. Elliot's* family from New York, and the Cathcarts, and Mansfield, and Lord North, and Williams, for two or three days, and George North; and to-day we expect Fawkener, and to-morrow Lord Sheffield and Sir G. Elliot, and Sir G. Cornewall. We have also five or six annual dinners going forwards with our neighbours; and these interruptions, with the help of horses and phaeton, and the cares of the farm, and the lounge of the library, help us insensibly forward to our graves.

We are under a gloom at present from the history of the Beresford family†, which I mentioned two or three days ago, in a letter to Sir G. Cooper. As the earth is not productive near Buxton, you will see little of the progress of vegetation; I suppose, however, that the harvests in general are, about this time, secure even in the North of England, and that they have been plentiful. The weather, here, is grown cool and showery, and the thermometer is seldom above sixty. We have a chance now of a little after-grass and a crop of turnips. We are making new walks and various little improvements.

I received a very kind note on Saturday from Lord Mansfield; he intended to have come hither on Friday, but was obliged to go to town to attend the recorder's report. Dunning‡, who used to teaze him, little expected to die before him; still less could he have expected that the only remark on his death would be that "the public is thereby eased of a large pension."

I suppose that you have heard from the Duke of Marlborough relative to Professor Hornsby. As Lord North gives us his assistance most heartily, and brings three votes, the election will, in all events, be

* Andrew Elliot, late Lieutenant-Governor of New York.

† This alludes to a domestic calamity in Rt. Hon. John Beresford's family.

‡ Lord Ashburton.

safe; but I think it not unlikely to be unanimous, for I do not believe that there are any other candidates either of weight or of literary eminence. We do not know the Master of the Rolls*, and cannot find anybody who does.

I have seen Fox since I saw you, and he is forward enough in talking about the expediency of your taking possession at any safe moment of the Great Seal; but he dropped a hint which was quite new to me, and which I expressed some surprise at, for he ought to have communicated it much sooner. He said that before his connection with us, a sort of promise of Lord Marchmont's office † had been given to Lord Maitland for Lord Lauderdale. He added, indeed, that means might be found to get rid of that rub, but yet treated it with a degree of embarrassment. They are so much more interested to bring the thing to a practicable shape than you can be, that I only intimated surprise and changed the subject. I have since had occasion, however, to repeat to him in general terms, the necessity, or at least the expediency, of putting an end to the commission, before the beginning of the session. Fox treats the notions of a change of Ministers as entirely and necessarily groundless.

I do not know any news, nor do I believe that there is any.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Ever faithfully and affectionately yours,
W. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham, Saturday, Aug. 30th, 1783.

My dear Lord,—I have not wished you to open the enclosed in company, for though it contains nothing material, if Sir Grey Cooper ‡ should happen to take

* Sir Thomas Sewell.

† The office alluded to is the Great Seal of Scotland, then held by Lord Marchmont.

‡ A Lord of the Treasury in the Coalition Ministry.

notice of the handwriting, his curiosity would be excited in a degree painful to himself and troublesome to you, and he would endeavour to gratify it on the first opportunity at Bushey.

I send the letter chiefly on account of the paragraph which takes notice of a disposition in our new allies to ride paramount. That disposition manifested itself rather indelicately in the appointments both of the Irish Secretary* and of the Scotch Advocate. I think, too, that both you and others might have had a word of pre-concert before Lord Derby† was named to the duchy, though it was natural for Fox and the Duke of Portland to wish to give him that provincial patronage. I cannot guess what is the further slight to which Lord North alludes, and am very curious to know it, as it seems to have struck him pretty strongly. If it becomes necessary, he must have an early and full explanation on this part of the system. I think them at least as much interested as we are, in any point of view, to preserve the connection on the present terms.

I saw Fox on Thursday for a few minutes, and his language was then full of attentions to Lord North in an extreme degree, for he stated to me, as a matter of delicacy, the circumstance of his writing letters to all our friends, to ask their attendance at the opening of the session, and asked me whether I thought that his doing so could give offence to Lord North. I told him, "certainly not;" and I think, on reconsidering it, that I was right, for he, in truth and in substance, and in every point of view, represents the minister in the House of Commons. I am inclined to think that Lord North must write also to his principal friends, and there may be much use in his doing so, as it may give him an opportunity of setting himself right in the sentiments of some who are displeased with him. Pray tell me what you think.

* Mr. Pelham.

† Lord Derby had been appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Fox, in a note about giving his vote to Hornsby (he had at first promised it to Wenman), says that he will come here some day to talk at leisure about the opening of the session, and about filling the Great Seal; but as he names no time, I have no expectation of him.

When do you come southwards, and do you recover well? Gibbon is going immediately abroad. Miss Elliot goes on Monday to Copenhagen to pass the winter with Hugh.

We are quite grieved about Mrs. Sloane. Best compliments to your party.

Believe me, very affectionately yours,

WM. EDEN.

Ashhurst* writes to me that he has engaged his interest and vote (if he has any) for the Radcliffe Librarian in favour of Dr. Wall.

Parliament met on the 11th of November, and the great measure of Mr. Fox was brought forward. Mr. Eden seems to have been alarmed at the proposed India Bill, and it is clear from the following letter that he imparted his fears to Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—I shall be very glad to see you Sunday morning, as soon after nine as you will call, but I cannot help writing these few lines to tell you that I agree with you in seeing great danger, but I confess I do not see any honourable or even honest way of avoiding it. I shall be glad to discuss it with you, for no man more dreads the imputation of rashness than I do, but you must recollect that I am already committed to carry some plan for India† into execution, and I will own fairly, I have no conception of anything short of this. Yours ever,

St. James's Place, 7th Nov.† —83. C. J. FOX.

* Sir William Ashurst, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal.
† The India Bill was brought in on the 18th of November.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

My dear Eden,—I allow that your physical lecture is very just, and I am not unmindful of it, for at all large dinners I am on my guard to a great degree; but I cannot avoid sitting much longer at table than any man can do with health. I begin to think, however, that the evil will cease much sooner than you suppose. That curse of India will be the ruin first of the Administration, and then of the country. There is a very open, I think a very decided and a very unfriendly difference of opinion likely to arise; the plan is extended to a detail that is totally impracticable, even if it were as correct as it is confused. There are very tender and very important points in the first proposition I stated to you shortly, which are calculated to excite that jealousy it is so much the interest of the Administration to quiet, and which will be raised by every art of open enemies and half friends. Lord North is seriously alarmed, but he seems very little disposed to communicate that alarm to others. He is quite cordial and good-humoured. I cannot find any time to talk with him on these subjects except at meetings, where one must talk with some restraint. I wish you would leave things to the course of the seasons at Beckenham, and come to town, where your attention is much more wanted.

On Saturday and Sunday you will have more opportunity than you can have all the rest of the week.

I have sent you the paper that was circulated to us. You will observe the seven* trustees are during good behaviour; that is a very favourite, but a very difficult point. You must return it to me on Saturday morning, and when you talk about it, you may first contrive to get your information from Lord North.

* Mr. Fox's India Bill proposed that the government of India should be vested in trustees, called Commissioners.

I hold it too hazardous a point to try, even if all the rest were safe.

If it were carried it is a great point, but for that reason I think it will fail.

Yours ever,

Thursday Evening. LOUGHBOROUGH.

Mr. Fox alludes in the following letter to the triumphant majority on the second reading of the East India Bill in the House of Commons.

Mr. Fox to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—I understand Hartley's correspondence has been sent to you. If you can find time to read it I should be much obliged to you. We must not forget that the bill of last session expires on the 20th December. The more I reflect upon last night, the more I consider it as decisive in every respect.

Yours ever,

C. J. Fox.

St. James's, Friday, 28th Nov. —83.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Morton Eden.

Parliament Street, Dec. 9th.

My dear Morton,—Matters are pretty much as I prophesied to you in my last. This East India Bill is the great object of attention. After having had three debates, the shortest of which lasted till four o'clock in the morning, we passed it last night or rather to-day, on a division of 208 to 103. We carried it to-day to the Lords, who are now debating upon it. We hope and trust it will get the royal assent about the 23rd. It has purposely been urged as a question on which we rested the fate of our Government, and in the result we appear for the present to be very firmly established. As to the particulars and the persons named, you will collect them better from the newspapers than from anything that I can write, more especially as I am tired and sleepy.

In addition to these symptoms of political prosperity, we have very good accounts of the state and temper of Ireland; and matters are likely enough to take a turn there very discouraging to the volunteers' importance, and very creditable to the Lord-Lieutenant's government.

We flatter ourselves that we have broken the back of the session, and that we shall have leisure for the remainder of it to prepare public business, and to carry it forward. My time is much occupied by the Revenue Committee, of which I happen to be chairman, and which is inquiring into all the smuggling practices, and the means of prevention. The smuggling in the Channel is become quite a naval war in armed vessels of force.

Remember us most kindly to Lady Elizabeth.

Yours very affectionately,

W. EDEN.

Adam Smith to Mr. Eden.*

Dear Sir,—If the Americans really mean to subject the goods of all different nations to the same duties, and to grant them the same indulgences, they set an example of good sense which all other nations ought to imitate. At any rate, it is certainly just that their goods, their naval stores for example, should be subjected to the same duties to which we subject those of Russia, Sweden and Denmark, and that we should treat them as they mean to treat us, and all other nations.

What degree of commercial connection we should allow between the remaining colonies, whether in North America or the West Indies, and the United States, may to some people appear a more difficult question. My own opinion is that it should be allowed to go on as before, and whatever inconveniences may result from this freedom may be re-

* Adam Smith and Mr. Eden had been friends of long standing.

medied as they occur: The lumber and provisions of the United States are more necessary to our West India Islands, than the rum and sugar of the latter are to the former. Any interruption or restraint of commerce would hurt our loyal much more than our revolted subjects. Canada and Nova Scotia cannot justly be refused at least the same freedom of commerce which we grant to the United States.

I suspect the Americans do not mean what they say. I have seen a Revenue Act of South Carolina by which two shillings are laid upon every hundredweight of brown sugar imported from the British plantations, and only eighteen-pence upon that imported from any foreign colony. Upon every pound of refined sugar from the former one penny, from the latter one halfpenny. Upon every gallon of French wine, two-pence; of Spanish wine, three-pence; of Portuguese wine, four-pence.

I have little anxiety about what becomes of the American commerce. By an equality of treatment to all nations, we might soon open a commerce with the neighbouring nations of Europe infinitely more advantageous than that of so distant a country as America. This is an immense subject, upon which, when I wrote to you last, I intended to have sent you a letter of many sheets, but as I expect to see you in a few weeks, I shall not trouble you with so tedious a dissertation. I shall only say at present that every extraordinary either encouragement or discouragement that is given to the trade of any country more than to that of another, may, I think, be demonstrated to be in every case a complete piece of dupery, by which the interest of the State and the nation is constantly sacrificed to that of some particular class of traders. I heartily congratulate you upon the triumphant manner in which the East India Bill has been carried through the Lower House. I have no doubt of its passing through the Upper House in the same manner. The

decisive judgment and resolution with which Mr. Fox has introduced and supported that Bill does him the highest honour.

I ever am, with the greatest respect and esteem, dear Sir, your most affectionate and most obedient humble servant,

ADAM SMITH.

Edinburgh, 15th Dec. 1783.

CHAP. IV.

The King through Lord Temple influences the Lords.—The East India Bill is rejected.—Dismissal of Lord North and Mr. Fox.—Anger of the Coalition.—Desperate Attempts of the Majority of the House of Commons to overthrow the Ministry.—Debate in the House of Lords.—Dissolution.—Mr. Pitt secures a great Majority.—In 1785 Mr. Pitt brings forward his Irish Propositions.—Debate thereupon in the Irish Parliament.

THE King had now determined to overthrow the Ministry. The "stormy petrel," Lord Temple, had been again closeted, and received authority to use his Majesty's name against his Majesty's Ministers.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—I am sorry to say I cannot disbelieve the story, but I do not believe that the effect of it will be very pernicious. The Archbishop * was more in anger than in fear upon the report, and wore his vizor up, frowning. If he and the rest of the Bench are steady, there is no danger. You should see him. His idea is that Chaos will come again if this secret prevails.

At the Duke of Portland's dinner, Sandwich, Bucks †, Huntingdon ‡, the subject was very freely discussed. All were zealous, and it was the general opinion the story would not produce any effectual change. Upon a very fair scrutiny of a candid list, it seemed impossible to lose the game, though we should lose every false card.

The last report of the day was to contradict the

* John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, translated, in 1783, from Bangor. The Archbishop had married a sister of Mr. Eden's.

† George, 3rd Earl of Buckinghamshire.

‡ Francis, 10th Earl of Huntingdon.

story as first told: that it was not true Lord Temple* had said he was *authorised;* but they know it for certain that His Majesty was adverse. There is some reason to believe that Lord Temple has in the Lords used the expression authorised. From the explanation, however, I dare say that some wiser persons have felt the extreme folly of the first phrase, and will avoid or evade any declaration that can be fixed upon.

I keep house to-morrow, and shall only be at home to you (if you chance to come this way) and to Lord Carlisle, who has desired to see me before dinner.

Yours ever,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Saturday Evening, 10 o'clock.

The Ministers were left in a minority in the House of Lords. The following letter of the 16th gives an account of the closing scene. At midnight on the 18th, the King took away the seals from Lord North and Mr. Fox. The Ministry was at an end; and Mr. Pitt was sent for and appointed Prime Minister.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Morton Eden.

Parliament Street, Dec. 16th.

My dear Morton,—The mail of next Friday will probably carry you an account of a new set of Ministers, and it is possible that a few days more may furnish you with tidings of the dissolution of the British Parliament, and of the return of the Lord-Lieutenant from Ireland. The short explanation is this: his Majesty's name has been used without reserve or scruple among the Bishops†, the Lords of the bed-

* Lord Temple wrote the letters of dismissal, acted for three days as Secretary of State, and then disappeared from the scene. He was afterwards made the Marquis of Buckingham, and became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland on the death of the Duke of Rutland.

† The Archbishop of Canterbury voted against the Coalition.

chamber, the Scotch Peers, and some individuals open to that species of application, to a degree which yesterday gave a majority of eight against Government, upon a question of adjournment*, as connected with the East India Bill. This being the case, it is impossible for the Ministers, notwithstanding their great majority of decided support in the House of Commons, not to explain in such a manner as must occasion their dismission (for the royal disinclination to the Bill was never intimated through the whole of its progress, but every expression held out a contrary idea). The consequences cannot fail of being extremely disagreeable both to the tranquillity and interests of the public and of individuals. The present Ministers will follow the general sense of their general body of friends, and certain motions will accordingly be brought forward to-morrow. The state of the times must be much unsettled, probably for several weeks—possibly for several months. You have nothing to do but to stand contented, a distant spectator of the storm. This must be your only object in every point of view; for nothing can be brought to a settlement; and in the meantime there is no settled point, either of honour or connection, that can be supposed to affect you. I am sorry for the state of things, and more for the public than myself, for the affairs of this country were getting into shape and consistency.

Yours very affectionately,

W. EDEN.

In Mr. Pitt's Administration, Lord Carmarthen and Lord Sydney † were Secretaries of State; Lord Thurlow, Lord Chancellor; Mr. Pitt being Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is not necessary to relate with what firmness and ability Mr. Pitt held his ground against all the violent assaults of the Oppo-

* The question was virtually decided on the motion for adjournment. The Bill was thrown out on the 17th.

† Mr. Thomas Townshend was created Lord Sydney, 6th of March, 1783

sition. His India Bill was thrown out, stoppage of supplies threatened, but he bided his time. The opposition majority declined, and on the 25th of March Parliament was dissolved. The result of the elections was disastrous to the Coalition. The rejected members were called "Fox's Martyrs."

The following letters describe the last efforts of the Coalition.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Morton Eden.

Beckenham, Dec. 30th.

My dear Morton,—I came to this place on the Saturday for eight or ten quiet days with fresh air, after having passed some weeks in a very unusual fever of business. You know the outlines of the existing politics from the public prints. The interior speculations lie within a small compass. The strength of the *Outs*, in every view and consideration beyond the closet door, is most decidedly superior to the strength of the *Ins*. The former are called the majority, the latter the minority. The former are gay and triumphant, the latter grave and dejected. Nothing but the heavy hand of death upon individuals of the Coalition can materially affect this superiority; how it will be used I cannot precisely say; but if we find it expedient on the 12th of January* to vote the necessity of a Ministry in which the public can have confidence, I am very sure that such a vote would be carried in the fullest house by a large majority. Lord Northington steers our fortunes; but it is privately understood between both parties that his resignation is not to take place till after the 12th. I resigned on the 19th, but my office is not yet filled.

We are all well under this roof. Fine cold weather. The Elliots, Harris's, &c., have been skating all day at Mr. Bennet's. Whenever any new lights appear I will write. Harris† has resigned the Hague; but not

* Parliament had adjourned till the 12th of January.
† Sir James Harris.

on politics, which have nothing to do with the foreign line.*

Yours very affectionately,

W. EDEN.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—Many thanks for your letter: I shall be very thankful for another letter, if it tells me there will not be a general engagement on the 12th inst. I am not in the humour to skirmish or to attend Pandemoniumism in St. James's Place. You seem a little suspicious of me, but it is exactly the moment, and almost the only moment, when according to my nature it is impossible to be off. Exclusive of my regard for Lord North, exclusive of a disposition to engage in the most vigorous measures to mark late transactions, if it were only to avoid the appearance of *quitting* at such a time, I should seem to go on. Moreover, I am as little attached to the reigning William as the deposed Charles, but I blush at having been such an eager partisan, and at the pains I took to convince others.

My system was generally to support Government. It is the interest of a country gentleman that it should not be embarrassed and made expensive. To be of a party may be necessary in some respects, but it is attended with obloquy, and I have found it particularly troublesome to be supposed to have some interest with Ministers. My plagues have been doubled by it; it gives ground to my constituents to expect. I applied to Sheridan several months ago: I told him any place, the smallest and worst, would do. I applied to the First Commissioner, as a friend, for some benefice for a chief and very essential friend at C——.† I was unsuccessful in both.

* It was on this principle that Mr. Eden accepted the mission to France in 1785.

† Lord Sheffield, in spite of all his exertions for his constituents at Coventry, lost his seat at the dissolution.

I am treated as deceiving and negligent. I am ashamed of the number of times I was foolish enough to apply to Sheridan. When I shall have saved my punctilio in a few general engagements, I shall afterwards seldom lose my dinner on ministerial questions. As to dissolution, I am ripe to believe the young gentlemen who have taken the empire into their hands are silly enough for anything; as to myself, the amiable obstinacy that would arise in me on such an occasion would prevent my being indifferent about this act.

You are sure of Sir Henry Clinton; he dined *tête-à-tête* with me the day before I left town. As to his ducal kinsman* he is scarcely to be understood or worth it. I am better entertained here with country and American affairs than I could be in London with what are called politics.

Believe me ever most faithfully yours,

S. P. 7th Jan. 1784. SHEFFIELD.

I have a choice letter from the proprietor of Lymington; that business seems rather desperate. I repeatedly applied to Lord North. I applied to the Duke of Portland and to Charles Fox in this affair, but I applied to them merely for their own advantage. My friend is likely to lose considerably, but I am not inconsiderably annoyed by the neglect of the above personages. You alone spoke fairly.

Lord North to Mr. Eden.

Friday, Jan. 30, 1784.

Dear Sir,—Although your pulse was very regular and temperate yesterday, I am afraid that you do not act wisely in dining out to-day.

All people agree that the best motion for us would be a question moved by the enemy to rescind the resolution of the 16th† of this month; but none of them

* The Duke of Newcastle.

† Lord Surrey had, on the 16th, carried a vote of want of confidence in Mr. Pitt's Government.

will move it, and it is difficult to stand still without great danger. The present idea is certainly an address, adopted not by choice, but upon the supposition of its being become unavoidable. Take some early opportunity of communicating your ideas to Mr. Fox, that he may consider of them before we meet to settle the business for Monday.

Yours, ever,
NORTH.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

'Dear Eden,—In the course of yesterday, I found from so many different quarters, the report of the intention to dissolve, that I begin to believe the Ministry will risk it. Dundas told a friend of his, that if the majority on Monday was too large to contend with, the House would never meet again. All your attention, therefore, should be directed to prevent this worst evil that can befall the country; and nothing would be more acceptable to the House, than any measure that apparently tended to that object. A vote against issuing money without the direction of Parliament, and an inquiry into the money issued since the change of Ministry, to the Paymaster, Treasurer of the Navy, Secretaries of the Treasury, &c., would have some effect, and may accompany any other measure you adopt.

Lord Thurlow has passed his own grant of the reversionary tellership, and, I am told, has taken it, in the very words of the former grants. If this is true, which I shall know with certainty to-morrow morning, the grant should be called for and censured, because it is in direct opposition to the act passed in June last.

Yours ever,
LOUGHBOROUGH.

Sunday Morning.

The following letter is evidently written on the 5th of February, and gives an account of the debate on

Lord Effingham's resolutions in the House of Lords. The resolutions were in favour of Mr. Pitt's Government, and declaring the proceedings of the House* of Commons unconstitutional.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—I shall give you as good an account as my headache will permit of our debate.

The first motion was considered by Lord Stormont and Lord Mansfield as a truism. But you will not allow it to pass so, for it is a jumble of truth and falsehood. The first part is true, the second is false in the extent given to it; for in many cases it is not only the right but the duty of either Houses of Parliament to direct the exercise of discretionary powers, for the improper use of which any man or body of men is accountable to Parliament. The vote which was read as the ground of our resolution is one of the clearest and most unexceptionable instances of the interposition of the House, and the denial of the right to interpose in such a case destroys the efficacy of Parliament, and sets every minister, public board, and executive officer of Government free from all previous check or control, or even admonition.

I attacked this resolution as strongly as I could, and with some effect. The Chancellor supported it by misconstruing the vote of your House, and by a strange assertion that a discretionary power given to the Lords of the Treasury was in the nature of a judicial authority in the exercise of which they were not liable to be directed either by the King or the Parliament. The topic of his speech the most worth your attention was a declaration that the Treasury ought to disregard the vote, and consent to the acceptance of the bills. This was gravely delivered, Pitt standing next to him and seeming to assent. Lord Gower, in the close of the day, said something to the same effect. You may

* The House of Commons, on the 24th of December, had ordered the Lords of the Treasury not to permit the East India Directors to accept any more bills.

imagine to what shifts they were put in the argument, when an absurdity of Lord Effingham, that the case was the same as if the House had directed the collectors of the land tax not to levy the tax, was repeated by the Duke of Richmond, and even stated by the Chancellor as a probable consequence from the vote.

The other motion and the address are perfectly feeble. Lord Gower and Lord Sydney spoke rather faintly, stating themselves as holding only till an extended Administration could be formed. Lord Coventry* spoke for a dissolution, but nobody ventured to follow him upon that ground. Lord Mansfield opposed the whole proceeding as having no tendency but to create a difference between the two Houses, at a time when a dissolution was impracticable, which he showed it to be in very strong and clear terms. Lord Stormont † made a very fine speech in every sense of the word. He went through all the parts of the present situation in very elegant, though very plain terms, urging the Ministers, on every principle of honour, duty, and prudence, to quit offices they could not hold but to their own disgrace and the public ruin.

Our division‡ we thought very decent, considering the short notice. In your House to-day, I think you should treat the whole as a weak attempt of a falling Administration, to create a disunion which they did not know how to effect. Abuse but laugh at our resolution. With regard to Pitt, you have ample ground of attack; he was there all the time, busy, lively, and very much pleased with his own praises, *plausuque sui gaudere theatri.* The lessons he received from his schoolmasters were high prerogative doctrines, and a total disregard of the votes of the House of Commons, even in the execution of the business of the Treasury, and in a matter affecting public credit.

* George William, 6th Earl of Coventry, married, 5th March, 1752, the celebrated beauty, Maria Gunning.

† Lord Stormont was Lord Mansfield's nephew and successor.

‡ Lord Effingham's resolutions were carried by a majority of 100 to 53.

The Duke of Richmond told us, he came into cabinet to share the danger, because it was his opinion and advice to the Ministry to go *all lengths*, in order to keep themselves in office.

Yours,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

The following letter with respect to the dissolution, conveyed the feelings of many other members on that interesting event. Mr. Storer was member for Morpeth, and was not re-elected.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—Many thanks for your letter. Hazy weather indeed. The King must be completely mad. This dissolution will certainly set me adrift, and I have nothing for it but *virtute meâ involvere*, which is a thin covering this cold weather. If you can be of any service to me, I trust you will in any means, to get into Parliament. I will borrow, spend, or beg money for that purpose: having once enlisted under the banner of the Coalition, I do not like being broke and left without employment.

By this time everything is determined on, and as I must be writing in the dark, I shall take my leave.

I hope Mrs. Eden and all your family are well. Adieu!

Yours most sincerely,

A. STORER.

The following letter of Mr. Burke is written in answer to a summons to attend the new Parliament, which met on the 18th of May.

Mr. Burke to Mr. Eden.

My dear Sir,—I am obliged to you for thinking of me in the midst of your cabbage garden: I never have been called away from mine with so much reluctance in my whole life. It is not pleasant to play the captive part in a triumphal procession, especially

when the weather is hot and the ways dusty. I agree with you that our first days will be employed in the display and insolence of victory. If insolence and reason were terms that could agree, I should say that they have reason for their insolence. The humour (for I must not call it madness) of the people has much exceeded my apprehensions, and you know I have not been very sanguine.

My accounts from India do not at all differ from yours. I do not believe that those who act as Ministers will much dispute the Company's affairs. The delusion has done all that the authors and abettors proposed, and they will not endeavour to keep it up only to embarrass themselves: for no Government can find it either for its interest or credit to support a fictitious solvency in the Company, the effect of which must be to bring a real bankruptcy on the Exchequer, and that in no great length of time. You are certainly right: the havock and destruction of the species made in the East Indies does by no means touch the humanity of our countrymen, who, if the whole Gentoo race had but one neck, would see it cut with the most perfect indifference. To their own interest they have sensibility enough, but then it is only in the moment of suffering. Until the House shall adopt the true state of the East India affairs the nation will not see them; and the Ministers, who in general terms will be ready enough to admit the difficulties and embarrassments in that part of the world, will never suffer a clear and distinct statement of them to be made. I shall, indeed, be much disappointed if they suffer a single East India paper to be laid before their Parliament. I find that you and others think rather better of this new chosen body than I am able to do. I am glad that your opinion is so favourable, for it will make your exertion more lively and effectual.

For my part, I despair totally of anything which can be done in future, if we do not commence our proceedings by a strong defence of our past conduct,

and by as strong a crimination of those who have caballed you out of your power, and have libelled you out of your reputation. If this preliminary point were once well secured, the mode of our opposition would, in my opinion, be of less moment, and might even be left to the guidance of events. If something of the kind be not adopted, I have no confidence in any mode of opposition whatever. Whenever business is put into any sort of train, I think I may take the part which may be allotted to me; till then I have no great ambition.

Ever most faithfully
and affectionately yours,

17th May, 1784. ED. BURKE.

The dissolution of 1784 had given Mr. Pitt a majority that rendered opposition powerless.

In the session of 1785, the "Irish Propositions" for opening and regulating the trade between England and Ireland were ineffectually opposed by the Opposition. In the debates on this subject, Mr. Eden took a leading part, and by his knowledge of finance, and the skill and temper he displayed, gained the applause of the House of Commons, and the confidence of the merchants and manufacturers, who were violently opposed to Mr. Pitt's measures.

The propositions were unsuccessful in the Irish Parliament, and were abandoned by the Government. The following account of the great Irish debate is by Mr. Woodfall, the first parliamentary reporter:

Mr. Woodfall to Mr. Eden.*

Dear Sir,—I doubt not but you have already heard that the business which cost *you* so much application, and gave our two Houses so much trouble, is at an end on this side of the water already. I would have written you an account of it by last night's post, but I

* Mr. William Woodfall, called "Memory Woodfall," from his skill in remembering the speeches, no notes being then allowed to be taken in England. Mr. Woodfall was brother of the publisher of Junius's Letters.

was not out of the House of Commons till near one, and had scarcely time to scribble any account to send home. When I arrived here last Tuesday, I found the whole country much inflamed against our twenty resolutions, but most especially the fourth. Mr. Conolly* had declared against the latter, and you know his influence over the country gentlemen here. On Friday Mr. Orde† came to the test, and in the whole course of my parliamentary attendance I never heard a business so ill opened. He was dry, embarrassed, and so far unintelligible that, had I not known the business practically before, I could not have conceived its true tendency; nor, indeed, anything like it, from his speech of upwards of two hours. I must do him the justice to own he had as awkward and as difficult a task to perform as ever fell to the lot of a secretary to a Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He was obliged to maintain that the bill he meant to bring in was grounded on the eleven propositions originally voted here; and then to prove that all our English modifications and exceptions were necessary addenda, not at all varying or weakening the principle of the first propositions, nor rendering them, in the smallest degree, less advantageous for Ireland. I scarcely know, in our own more practised school of political art and adroitness, a man sufficiently skilful to have juggled clean enough to have come off with credit under such circumstances; but scarcely any one could have tumbled through the hoop more clumsily. I never thought so meanly of his abilities in England as I have reason to do from the sample of them I have seen here; and I am told, but I allow for the prejudices of the moment, that he has never exhibited himself or his talents to much greater advantage here. The debate was warm and wild, but some parts of it were well. Grattan, whose conversion is in Dublin ascribed to Sheridan's speech (which

* Mr. Thomas Conolly, of Castletown, married, Jan. 1758, Louisa, daughter of Charles, 2nd Duke of Richmond.

† The Irish Secretary.

I took such pains to procure for the public correctly), was admirable. His manner, as you well know, is most singular; but he said some of the finest things in the newest mode I ever heard.

Flood, who had made an animated speech on Thursday, was tedious and uninteresting.

To avoid going over Grattan's ground, he spoke to the bill as if in a committee, line by line, clause after clause. He proved himself a man of reading (modern reading, I mean): he quoted our friend Lord Sheffield's publication. Mr. Burgh of Oldfield, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Hardy* spoke ably against the bill. Foster†, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is one of the readiest and most clear-headed men of business I ever met with, answered Flood with great effect. The debate lasted till nine in the morning, and then Orde walked out, followed only by 127, while the minority reckoned 108, and among them the chief men of property of the kingdom. The interval between Saturday morning and Monday was spent in council and negotiation. Flood had pledged himself to introduce a motion for a resolution assertive (as he phrased it) of the right of the Irish Parliament to legislate externally and internally for Ireland, and expressive of the determination of the House of Commons of the country to retain that right undiminished and inviolate. I believe the Castle negotiations in general proved ineffectual and unsuccessful. I know the attempt to prevail on Mr. Conolly not to vote for the resolution did so, both by his conduct in the House yesterday, and by what I learnt at Castleton, for I dined there with him on Sunday. Yesterday Mr. Orde came down, brought in the bill, and abandoned it. He, immediately after moving that it should be printed, moved the question of adjournment. This created a debate. Flood offered his resolution, but couched in more modified phrase than he had read it on Saturday morning. It, however, appeared that the Opposition

* Mr. Hardy was the friend and biographer of Lord Charlemont.
† Mr. Foster, afterwards Lord Oriel.

were divided in sentiment: the moderate men, who had left Government merely because they had been led to imagine the fourth resolution would ruin old Ireland and rot all its potatoes, were contented with their victory, and did not desire to pursue the retreating. This Flood discovered, and made a merit of his forbearance. The debate, however, unaccountably continued for near four hours after he had declared he would not press a division; and Dennis Daly*, who had been absent on Friday, and was suspected by the public to be hanging off, had an opportunity of rising and declaring, that he should have voted for introducing the bill, and rendering it the subject of deliberation, but that he could not have gone farther.

In the course of the day, Curran, a young barrister, had made a strange rhodomontade upon the occasion, in which he talked of "the ebullitions of folly, and "the moment of constitutional insanity." When Fitzgibbon, the Attorney-General†, came to speak, he attacked Curran on these expressions, and handled him rather roughly. As soon as he sat down, Curran retorted, and said some of the severest and most pointed things of Fitzgibbon that can well be conceived. His vehicle, also, was as ingenious and as effectual as ever. travelled the road of ability, wit, and warmth. In short, I was amazed that a speaker who had before delivered himself so ridiculously, could, when it was most necessary, command so much reason, and revenge himself so powerfully. Fitzgibbon replied like a man whose indignation and smarting had deprived him of every gentlemanlike sensation and expression. He said Curran was *no lawyer*, and that *the monstrous nonsense that came from him was fit only for Sadler's Wells.* Curran took no notice, and stopped a member who was rising to reprehend Fitzgibbon for his illiberality; but this day they met and fought, happily without harm to either.

In the course of the debate, one of the Ponsonbys

* Dennis Bowes Daly, M.P. for Galway.
† Afterwards Lord Clare.

(I think George) said the fourth* resolution was not, he believed, so much Mr. Pitt's, as Mr. Eden's. I set this matter right with the Duke of Leinster: and all the members near me, for I sat at the bar. Lord Camden's name had also been mentioned in the debate, and was a good deal bandied about. The point it was used to, was to prove that he had refused to declare, whether he thought the fourth resolution, in its fair construction, legislated for Ireland or not. Smith, who first mentioned the matter, mistated the fact, declaring that Lord Camden had said, that if he considered the question put to him for seven years, he could not tell.† Beresford replied, and set the matter right; but the impression remained nevertheless, and operated. I remembered the circumstance occurring, though I did not state it in my hasty sketch of the day. Lord Camden grew tetchy on Lord Stormont and Lord Derby's boring him with the question, and said, if they interrogated him for seven years, he would not answer, as they had no right to question him, merely that his name might be sent abroad with the answer. I was glad to hear not only Foster, Fitzgibbon, and others on the treasury bench and near it, yesterday confess that Ireland could not exist as a trading nation, without the protection of England, but Grattan also, and Flood, though the latter did it only by implication. By the bye, Grattan and Flood spoke together, and sat near each other, yesterday, for the first time since their famous, or rather infamous, altercation in the House. The Commons here are adjourned for three weeks, and the Lords till the 5th of September. I had this day the pleasure of hearing Lord Earlsfort‡ in the Lords, in opposition to *our* Lord Hillsborough§, on a motion

* The fourth resolution declared that the laws for regulating trade should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland.

† John Beresford, son of Lord Tyrone, Commissioner of Revenue, M.P. for Waterford.

‡ John Scott, created Lord Earlsfort in May, 1784.

§ Lord Hillsborough, afterwards first Marquis of Downshire, had been Secretary of State in Lord North's Government.

of the latter, relative to a bill proposed by him, to be framed by the judges, on the subject of Holdings of Leases of low value. I clearly saw that, though it may be true as reported, that Lord Earlsfort has been lucky, he has abilities enough to countenance good fortune.

The Parliament being at an end, my business here is, I thank God, limited. I have undertaken to publish an impartial account of Friday's debate in a pamphlet, and I mean to annex the Irish Bill to it, for it is different in some clauses from ours. Were it to rest solely on myself, I should make a sad hand of it, for I never was more puzzled than by the novelty of face and manner, and the total want of familiarity with their respective sentiments and connections. I have, however, happily obtained a firm phalanx of powerful allies. The speakers, themselves, have been kind enough to become my *aides de camp;* even Grattan, at the instance of Forbes*, has condescended to assist me. I hope, therefore, I shall obtain a tolerable authentic collection of their sentiments. My chief personal business has been to throw in the little points which are material, although from the general style and tenor of their reports here, they seem to have no idea of their importance, and to correct and ameliorate the violences done to grammar and English, by such of the members as attempt, in committing their speeches to paper, to change the first person to the third.

The city of Dublin and all the neighbourhood are in ecstasies at the firmness and spirit of their Parliament, and we have this night had every street illuminated; though, God knows, the people, both within doors and without, seem to be as yet pretty much in the dark as to the real import and bearing of the business which they have so hastily disposed of. The members in general conceive that the fourth resolution relates, not to our colonial trade merely,

* M.P. for Drogheda.

but to the foreign trade of Ireland in general; and, if you ask them why they are of that opinion, their answer is, "Sure I have been told so." Perhaps it is as well that the matter is put an end to. You and I know perfectly well, that so far from doing the British Minister an injury, by clearing him from the business, a millstone is taken off his neck (as Fitzgibbon said) the moment the question of commercial arrangement is got rid of. How far his neck may have been chafed and galled by the millstone, and how long it may remain an open sore, time will show; but the day of examining, probing, and dressing the wound is not immediately at hand.

Lord Mornington and his brother, Mr. Pole*, came over with me in the packet, and we had a great deal of political chit-chat one of the days (for we were near three on ship-board). I asked whether Lord Muncaster† and the other Irish Peers who bowed to the treasury bench, were to be in Dublin? His lordship answered, "Oh no, you'll see we want no recruits;" so little was the event that has happened expected in Downing Street. I met Lord Mornington this day behind the Throne in the House of Lords, and we had some conversation, in the course of which he stated the extreme surprise he had felt at the fate of the resolutions, and said he thought matters wore a most gloomy aspect in Dublin. I do not see myself any immediate great consequences to our friends, though certainly their prospects are considerably bettered by what has happened.

You, who were here so lately, would scarcely know this city, so much is it improved, and so rapidly is it continuing to improve. After the talk of the misery of the people in our Parliament, and in the Parliament here, I cannot but feel daily astonishment at the nobleness of the new buildings, and the spacious improvements hourly making in the streets. I am some-

* Afterwards Lord Maryborough.

† Sir John Pennington, M.P. for Westmoreland, created, in 1783, Lord Muncaster.

times tempted to suspect appearances, and to think I am at table with a man who gives me Burgundy, but whose attendant is a bailiff disguised in livery. In a word, there never was so splendid a metropolis for so poor a country. Why will not those who see this and say it, fairly apply a remedy, encourage their tenantry, dispel the national sloth and indolence of the lower orders of the people, promote industry, and teach their inferiors the blessings of independence, and the happiness of living comfortably by their own exertions?

I am, dear Sir, with hearty wishes for the health and happiness of your family, and a due sense of your friendly disposition towards me,

Yours, most faithfully,

W. WOODFALL.

Dublin, Tuesday night, August 16, 1785.

P. S.—I need scarcely add, that the Duke of Leinster and all his friends are in high spirits at what has happened. The Duke said this day in the House of Lords on the question—"that this House will at its rising adjourn to the 5th of September," "Why should we continue to sit, since the Irish propositions, or rather English resolutions, are disposed of?—*gone to the devil*, I hope, never to rise again."

CHAP. V.

Mr. Eden is appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Versailles in order to negotiate a Treaty.—The Duke of Portland approves of Mr. Eden's accepting the Appointment.—Mr. Wedgwood and others express their Delight.—Mr. Eden proceeds to Paris.—Interview with M. de Vergennes.—Mr. Eden sees Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette à la Chasse.—Conversation with M. de Calonne.—Projet of a Treaty agreed to between M. de Rayneval and Mr. Eden.—Mr. Pitt's Observations on it.—Horror of Mr. George Rose at the idea of opening the Silk Trade.

THE following correspondence relates to the Treaty of Commerce between England and France.

In the Treaty of Peace concluded in 1783 it had been stipulated that commissaries should be appointed to make commercial arrangements, yet nothing had been done. Arrêts disastrous to English commerce had been issued by the French Government in 1785, and a great many of our manufactures were prohibited. Mr. Pitt was, therefore, anxious to select the most able man to negotiate a Commercial Treaty; and Mr. Eden, though a political opponent, was earnestly requested by Mr. Pitt to proceed to France as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Mr. Pitt's offer was accepted; and in spite of the clamour of a few partisans, the appointment was excessively popular, especially amongst the commercial and manufacturing communities.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

Holwood Hill, Dec. 4th, 1785.

Dear Sir,—I take the liberty of troubling you with the accounts which I have now received from the Custom House, for the purpose of showing the comparative state of our trade at different periods, in reference to the French treaty. I have had an opportunity on Friday of receiving the King's plea-

sure relative to the commission which I had suggested, and had the satisfaction to find that it received His Majesty's gracious approbation.

I am confirmed in thinking the object of the French negotiation of great national importance, and I know no way in which it is so likely to be conducted to the public advantage, as by your consenting to undertake it. These were the motives which induced me to make this proposal. From the same considerations I should be desirous of doing everything that can give weight and consideration to the commission. It would be my wish, if it were practicable, to place it on the highest rank of Foreign Embassies; but I find there are objections to it, both from former practice and from some peculiar circumstances now. The next step is, that of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, which character may be given for the express purpose of negotiating the Commercial Treaty. When you have no further use for the enclosed accounts, and for the correspondence with Mr. Hailes, I will beg the favour of you to return them. I have copies of the other papers in your possession.

I am, with great respect and regard, dear Sir,
Your obedient and faithful servant,
W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

Downing Street, Wednesday, Dec. 8th, 1785.

Dear Sir,—A question of etiquette was suggested to me yesterday, on which I should have troubled you immediately, but continued interruptions have prevented my writing sooner. It seems to me to be easily got rid of, though perhaps it may make it advisable to delay for a few days your kissing hands.

As by the Treaty of Peace, commissaries were to be appointed to settle arrangements of commerce, and Monsieur de Rayneval was named for that purpose, Monsieur de Vergennes seems to have considered the negotiation as thrown wholly into his hands.

After your appointment as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, it would be regular for you to treat merely with Rayneval as commissary, and yet, under the letter of the Treaty, the negotiation would have to pass through the channel of the commissary and not directly from the King's Minister at Paris to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. This is so purely an etiquette, that it surely need not take half an hour to arrange it; and Vergennes must, I think, see your undertaking this commission as so strong a proof that this Court is in earnest, that he will be very desirous of facilitating it.

It seems to me that at the same time we propose to prolong the term for negotiation, we might desire to insert words which would admit of the Treaty being carried on either by commissioners or by ministers of a higher character and otherwise accredited. And it cannot be supposed that the French will make any objection. The only doubt is, whether it may not be as well to defer your actual appointment till these circumstances have been stated to Vergennes, whose answer we may have by a messenger probably in less than a week.

I shall be very glad to learn your opinion on this point by return of the messenger, though I am willing to hope that you will find it convenient to be in town to-morrow (though the result should be to delay your kissing hands), as I wish much to have the pleasure of conversing with you on some important suggestions in your last letter.

I return, with many thanks, the enclosure you were so good to send me. I had great pleasure in reading the liberal and just sentiments expressed in it, knowing the satisfaction you would derive from them.

I am, dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

W. Pitt.

I shall be at home till the levée to-morrow, and know of no particular engagement after eleven.

The following letter of the Duke of Portland, the head of the Coalition Administration, shows that he entirely approved of Mr. Eden's public spirit in accepting the appointment to France, although he doubted Mr. Pitt's sincerity on the occasion.

The Duke of Portland to Mr. Eden.

Bath, Thursday Evening, 8th Dec. 1785.

My dear Eden,—I am very sensible of your friendship in the communication you have made me by your letter of yesterday, and I can, without compliment, assure you that I am too much flattered by the motives you assign for it, and too anxious to cultivate and improve the dispositions from which those motives originated, to adopt the least reserve in giving you my sentiments on the decision you have formed.

Upon the first view of the business in which you have embarked, its extent, its importance, and its delicacy gave rise to apprehensions which are inseparable from the regard I feel due to your character, and from the interest I take in your success. My mind could not divest itself of the prejudices which it had imbibed from some instances of negotiations which have been either publicly or privately carried on even within the last twelve months. From the circumstances attending them, of which, I am sure, you cannot be ignorant, I could not help being impressed with so serious a dread of the consequences to which you exposed yourself, that I own to you that had you consulted me previous to your acceptance, I could not have felt sufficient courage to recommend so arduous and hazardous an employment to you; nor can I now venture any further than to give you the fullest credit for the public spirit which animates you in such a moment. I as readily acknowledge, as I sincerely admire, the liberality of mind and the fortitude which have determined you to subject yourself, for a time, to the jealousy of friends, to the animadversions of the censorious, and what, I think, requires still greater

resolution, to the good faith of an Administration thus avowedly incapable of discharging their duty to the public by their own instruments or their own adherents, and who, joined to this incapacity, have evidently neither the power nor the spirits to act for themselves.

The sacrifice you make is, indeed, but temporary; but it is certainly a great one, and indicates, as I have already observed, a firmness and intrepidity well becoming the object to which it is destined. In the meantime, though a sense of duty has impelled you to undertake this service, do not blame me, or impute to inordinate timidity the earnestness with which I recommend caution and circumspection to you in every stage and step you will have to take, and the most vigorous decision on the very first suspicions that may be roused in your mind. Public, as well as private considerations, insure you my best wishes for a speedy and honourable conclusion to your mission; and I sincerely hope that it may terminate so advantageously, in all respects, as to give me occasion to rejoice at the ineffectual statements of my own fears.

I am, my dear Eden,
Most sincerely yours ever,
PORTLAND.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

Downing Street, Dec. 16th.

Dear Sir,—I return Mr. Wedgwood's letter, for the communication of which I am much obliged to you. I agree entirely with you that it is material to cultivate every channel of information, and I am very glad that you will have an opportunity of receiving his suggestions. It cannot be too generally understood that our sole object is to collect, from all parts of the kingdom, a just representation of the interests of all the various branches of trade and manufacture which can be affected by the French arrangement,

and that we are perfectly open to form an unprejudiced opinion on the result.

I probably need hardly add, however, that there are many reasons which make it desirable to give as little employment or encouragement as possible to the Chamber of Commerce taken collectively. I have sent a card to desire the honour of your company to dine here on this day se'nnight if you are disengaged, and have taken the liberty to request the Archbishop of Canterbury to meet you.

I am, dear Sir,
Faithfully and sincerely yours,
W. Pitt.

*Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.**

23rd Dec.

My dear Lord,—I was obliged to postpone my journey to Blenheim, and have, for some days, been entirely occupied in collecting necessary information and papers, except only a short visit that we made in Sussex to Lord and Lady Sheffield. I shall pass the next week at Beckenham with the children and as much society as the house can find room for, and in preparations for going. On the 3rd and 4th of January, I must meet some merchants and manufacturers at this house and at the Committee of Council. We are appointed to go on the 5th to Blenheim, but so many matters arise to detain us here that I doubt it. In short, I am impatient to be ready to go at the first hour that the instructions can be ready for me. So much information is necessarily wanted, that I do not think it possible they should be ready before the meeting of Parliament nor, perhaps, till a fortnight afterwards. I would wish not to attend, and certainly shall not, unless some flippancy should make it a matter of propriety. I should be sincerely sorry to provoke attacks which, under every construction, I

* Mr. Eden had consulted Lord Loughborough before accepting Mr. Pitt's offer.

should be sincerely sorry to see; but I am not of a disposition to fly from them in any shape.

M. de Vergennes has written in very flattering terms upon the occasion of my appointment, and is taking every measure to give at least a full discussion to the business. Whether it will have any or all the good effects of which it is capable, he best knows.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Ever affectionately yours,
W. EDEN.

The following letter from Mr. Wedgwood shows the feelings of the manufacturers with respect to Mr. Eden's appointment:—

Mr. Wedgwood to Mr. Eden.

Etruria, Jan. 5, 1786.

Dear Sir,—I trouble you with this, just to inquire whether we may credit the newspapers, that the time of your departure for France is fixed for Saturday se'nnight; as I am anxious of having the honour of waiting upon you before you leave us, but wish to have a little better weather for the journey.

I have the pleasure of assuring you, that the manufacturers in general, whom I have either corresponded or conversed with upon the subject of your mission, rejoice with me on your appointment, and applaud you for accepting a charge of so much importance to the interests of this nation, and for which they are convinced that you are better qualified than almost any other man in the kingdom. One of them, Mr. Bolton, of Birmingham, in a letter which I have this moment received from him, says: "If Government had left the appointment of a commission to settle a Treaty of Commerce to me, I should have fixed upon Mr. Eden, feeling myself, as a member of the General Chamber, as a manufacturer, and as a man who despises party. Great pains have been taken by little-minded men, to clothe the manufac-

turers with party-coloured robes; but I am persuaded no reflections they can make will change the true blue that is dyed in grain."

Such, Sir, is the undisguised language of one manufacturer to another; but I will not take up more of your time, now so precious to all, than is absolutely necessary; and with best wishes to you and your amiable family for many happy years, I have the honour to be, with the truest regard,

Dear Sir, your much obliged and faithful humble servant,

JOS. WEDGWOOD.

P.S.—You have indeed opened to my view a field capacious enough for the ablest politician to range, if not to lose himself in. My poor head grows giddy on the first entrance; and believe me, Sir, when I assure you, that I feel both my knowledge and experience much too limited to venture farther than I am taken in the hand of some friend whose abilities and integrity I dare depend on. It is true that I can see difficulties almost on every side; but when the wisdom of a nation is called forth, it will remove mountains, and in the present instance, I hope and trust, that nothing will be able long to interrupt the advantages which may be expected from its exertions. You must not complain of my speaking too generally upon this subject, for being totally ignorant of particulars, I cannot go any farther, not knowing at all what it would be wished for us to give up. With regard to our particular manufacture, we only wish for a fair and simple reciprocity, and I suppose (but I speak without any authority) that our Manchester and Birmingham friends would be willing to give and take in the same way. I will not take up your time any farther, well knowing that I cannot say anything upon these subjects (except my own particular branch), which you do not either know much better yourself, or may have better information upon from others.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Morton Eden.

Parliament Street, Jan. 27th, 1786.

My dear Morton,—I write this from the Council Board, where I am at present passing *every* morning, and all the morning, in examinations of merchants and manufacturers upon various branches of commerce.

I do not yet foresee precisely when I shall be able to proceed to the Continent; but I begin to think that it will not be possible before the first week in March, *at soonest.* It is some satisfaction, however, that our inquiries go forward pleasantly, and with much liberality and singular good-temper among the trading interests.

Your old *confrère*, Sir J. Yorke, constantly lends us his presence at the Board. The others are Mr. Jenkinson, Mr. Grenville, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Carmarthen, Lord Walsingham, &c., and we sit every day in the week.

You will see by this mail that the session opens with much gentleness, and with little appearance of growing warm or drawing into length; and, indeed, unless some imprudence in Government should give occasion for their getting into trouble, I think it probable that the session may finish early in May. You will probably see in the newspapers that I went to the House at the opening of the debate, and sat down with Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt on one side of me, and Mr. Jenkinson and the Master of the Rolls on the other.

This step has had more credit for its spirit than it entirely deserves. I did not mean to have gone at all to the House; if some gentlemen with whom I have been accustomed to act had not held idle conversations upon the subject, as if they would draw inferences from my absence which I should not think pertinent.

I felt that it was not possible in the nature of circumstances for anything to be said, to which I could not give answers that must have done credit to

me and discredit to those who might attack me; and as a disposition was announced to construe my absence into a contrary sentiment, I determined not only to go, but to enter and place myself in the most marked point of view. The consequence was, that no syllable was uttered either unfriendly or unpleasant or even unpolite; and I had not a possible opportunity of opening my lips.

My only disposition to have avoided this originally was a false delicacy towards some friends who might feel sore in the present moment, but by degrees will feel otherwise.

Upon the whole, I am glad that the matter took the form which it did, and that I was induced to put it so much to the proof: for as two or three of the party papers had been very libellous, though very stupid, it was pleasant to prove to the world that the libels were the language of some two or three private and perhaps low people, and certainly not issuing from gentlemen of the House of Commons.

In the two days' debate, much was said upon foreign politics and late transactions upon the Continent; and some of it in my opinion might have well been spared. It will be an interesting debate, however, to your Continental friends.

It is impossible at present even to speculate on the length of my absence from England. I have many good reasons for not choosing that it should be at any rate very long, but I think it probable that I shall pass at least six months at Paris. I should be very glad to start there in full possession of as good French as you speak; I shall have disadvantages from the want of it, but they are lessening fast and will lessen every day.

Believe me, ever very affectionately yours,

W. E.

The following is the list of the French Ministers at the time of Mr. Eden's arrival in Paris.

Départemens de MM. les Secretaires d'Etat.

M. le Comte Vergennes - -	Les Affaires d'Etrangères.
M. le Baron Breteuil - - -	La Maison du Roi.
M. le Maréchal Segur - - -	La Guerre.
M. le Maréchal de Castries - -	La Marine.
M. de Calonne - - - -	Controleur-général des Finances.
M. de Miromesnil - - -	Garde des Sceaux.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Paris, April 6th, 1786.

My Lord,—Upon my arrival here on Thursday last, I wrote to M. de Vergennes* to assure him of my readiness to wait on him at Versailles whenever it might be convenient. I received an answer in terms of politeness, desiring to see me the next morning, and I went to him accordingly. His reception of me was apparently frank, and friendly towards the character in which I have the honour of appearing at this Court. He told me that I had been expected with some impatience. In mentioning the object of my mission, he said that he had been accustomed to call it the good work; that he sincerely and earnestly hoped it would be carried into effect; and that on his part I should have every readiness and facility that I could reasonably ask or expect. He introduced to me M. de Rayneval, as a gentleman deserving and possessing his full confidence, and empowered by his Most Christian Majesty to enter with me into the details of the business; and he intimated that he also wished to see me at his weekly conferences, and at any other time when I might be desirous to state any point immediately to him and to learn his sentiments.

I offered to proceed to our business, and informed him that although the inquiries in which I had been engaged, had delayed me for several weeks, they had

* Mr. Eden had been told by his brother Morton that the Count de Vergennes was the falsest man in the world.

certainly contributed to elucidate many doubtful circumstances, and would eventually accelerate the result of the negotiation. He was not, however, disposed to go beyond general expressions, but proceeded to arrange the business of my audiences for the Tuesday following, and then turned the conversation to other subjects of a personal or public nature.

I went again to Versailles, on Tuesday, and met the Duke of Dorset by appointment at the Salle des Ambassadeurs, from whence I was conducted with the usual ceremonies, and delivered His Majesty's letters to their Most Christian Majesties. I also had separate audiences of Monsieur, Madame, Monseigneur, and le Comte D'Artois, Madame la Comtesse, Madame Elizabeth, Madame Adelaide, and Madame Victoire.

His Most Christian Majesty, in receiving the King's letter, was pleased to say several sentences to me respecting his eagerness to promote a commercial intercourse between the two countries, as the best means of maintaining a pacific system, and he referred me for his further sentiments thereon to M. de Vergennes, who is present on such occasions in the closet.

As soon as the introductions were finished, I went by appointment to the bureau of M. de Rayneval, to whom I had already given a few minutes in writing, which I had prepared for the purpose of bringing the complicated subject before us into some practicable train of discussion. The chief proposition conveyed by those minutes was, to consider how far the contracting parties might agree in the first place to remove all the distinctions in the nature of commercial hostilities which His Majesty's dominions and those of His Most Christian Majesty have for near a century maintained against each other;—a system which had tended to encourage contraband trade, to give advantages to neighbouring nations, to maintain an unfriendly disposition between our two countries,

and to embarrass their commerce and navigation. I specified in this proposition, that it did not extend to any idea of placing us towards each other, either immediately or hereafter, upon the footing of the most favoured nations; as a reserve must be made of subsisting treaties, and also a power to either party to give in future particular advantages of commerce to other nations; and I stated also the necessity of examining the proposition thus limited with great care and with due consideration of all collateral circumstances. Farther particulars will be submitted to your Lordship with more propriety, in my subsequent dispatches. My conversation lasted till I was summoned to M. de Vergennes' dinner, when it was agreed that M. de Rayneval should have an opportunity of receiving more precisely the sentiments of M. de Vergennes and also of the Controller-General, and that I should hear farther from him in the course of a few days.

I apprehend that I shall have many difficulties to encounter in pursuing through this business the exact line between superfluous caution and undue dispatch. I shall continue to report all particulars, and hope that my unwearied endeavours to do right will merit His Majesty's most gracious approbation.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

In returning from Versailles on Tuesday evening, I had the satisfaction of seeing His Most Christian Majesty *à la chasse*, which he pursues very frequently after dinner; and the stag having stopped upon an eminence by the side of the road, when it was surrounded by the hounds, His Most Christian Majesty dismounted to shoot it, which, however, he did not accomplish at the first shot. His manner and address do not give the expression of much study: it is, however, certain that he has taught himself to read English with great facility, and that he reads all our

debates, and takes notice of the apparent inconsistencies in the debates.

Her Most Christian Majesty preserves much of her beauty, and has the appearance of great cheerfulness.* She continues to honour the parties of the Duchesse de Polignac frequently with her presence.

I have not thought it necessary to be mentioned in my official dispatch, but it is visible, and, indeed, not disavowed, that the French Ministers, though they complained of our delays in bringing forward the commercial discussions, have not used the interval to collect information or to prepare themselves. I suspect, therefore, they will be desirous to adopt whatever mode may best relieve them from the risk of forming judgments and decisions without having sufficient materials.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Paris, April 13th.

My Lord,—I have not attempted in my preceding dispatch of this date to state any surmise of my own respecting the probable motives which influence the conduct of the French Ministers on the present occasion. Certainly, it exhibits every appearance not merely of fairness, but of extreme facility; at the same time it is neither unjust nor discreditable to them to presume that in the plan they are pursuing, they look to the advantage of France, and not to that of Great Britain. I should be sorry to extend this presumption to any imputation of unjustifiable motives, if our experience previous to the late war had not given cause for constant suspicion. Whether there is any finesse and game in what they are doing, for the purpose of promoting some hostile point at a distance under the display of a pacific system near to us; whether their apparent approximation towards us is to effectuate

* At this time Louis XVI. was in his thirty-second, the Queen in her thirty-first year.

some purpose with some other Court; or lastly, whether the French Ministers really find it expedient to pursue measures of conciliation and friendship with Great Britain, for which the embarrassment of their finances and the present state of the Continental Powers may furnish good reasons—are considerations of great doubt with me, but of which Your Lordship, from a more general view and better information of circumstances, will be able to form a juster opinion. But whatever may be the prevalent motive, it seems beyond a doubt that the immediate consequences are highly eligible for the interests of His Majesty's subjects.

There was one part of M. de Calonne's conversation with me on Sunday morning, which showed a disposition to persuade me that they are pursuing a pacific system. Some mention happened to be made of Mr. Pitt's late statement of the Revenue in the House of Commons. M. de Calonne intimated a wish to see the printed report of the committee (which I shall readily give to him), and then asked me whether I did not think that the surplus of £900,000 was a flattering statement. I answered that if it had been liable to any just and tenable objections, there were some members present of very high ability who would not have suffered it to pass without remark. He then adverted to the magnitude of our debt, and observed that we had gained the start of France in a regular plan of reductions; but that supposing the two nations to continue at peace, the unstable nature of the French debt from the large proportion of annuitants, would ultimately make the reduction here much more expeditiously. "But observe (he added) how I am distressed in the meantime; after having negotiated considerable loans this year, I shall be obliged for the next eight years to pay annually fifty millions of livres for reimbursements. After that period we have the prospect of feeling once more at our ease."

M. de Rayneval, in the course of our conversations, mentioned to me his hope that the disposition which I had found and would continue to find among the

French Ministers in every circumstance connected with my mission, would meet with a similar return on some other points of discussion between the two Courts. Upon my asking to what he alluded, he said that he meant the St. Eustatius affair, and East India business, the particulars of which he would state to me at some more leisure moment. I answered with perfect truth, that they were both matters which I supposed were unconnected with any of the commercial arrangements, and of which, consequently, I had no information.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Paris, April 17th, 1786.

My Lord,—I am thus far sensibly gratified by the progress made in the business of my mission.

Having sent a few lines to M. de Rayneval, to mention some circumstances which had escaped me in our prior conversation, and to acknowledge the attentions and fair conduct of M. de Vergennes and the Controller-General, I received an answer to propose a meeting at Versailles, which took place on Saturday morning. As the business had now begun to bear a serious appearance, I carried my full powers, and M. de Rayneval, on the examination, was satisfied with them; but in his appointment there were some expressions which I thought defective as to the authority communicated, and, upon noticing the defect, he instantly consented to apply for a new instrument, not subject to the same objection. On proceeding to the business, I desired him to observe that I had not pursued the common mode of considering our negotiation "*comme une espèce de marché, où on demande quelque chose de plus qu'on ne désire, pour pouvoir en rebattre;* but that I had frankly stated what I thought right and reasonable, and nothing more. He answered, that those with whom I was treating would be found well entitled to such conduct. He then proceeded to settle the terms with me pursuant to our several

20111

papers; but some circumstances arose which made it necessary for me to go again to Versailles early this morning, when the business was settled as now transmitted to your Lordship; and M. de Vergennes then authorised the transmission from this Court to His Majesty's Ministers. In talking of the consequences of this Treaty, M. de Rayneval was very earnest that we should take effectual and early measures to increase the sale of French wines and French vinegars in England, without which, he said, that there would be many complaints in this country of the Treaty; and he intimated that France would hope, as to her wines, to be put on the same footing with the wines of Spain, which pay a duty higher, but little higher, than those of Portugal. As to the cambrics, he said that they found a liberal access, through our smugglers, as companions of the brandies; but he admitted that, both in appearance and in fact, it would be far preferable to introduce them in a legal mode, subject to a proper duty. He dwelt much on the effect which this approach of the two empires to a more amicable intercourse and connexion must have, in preserving them from such frequent wars, and also in maintaining an irresistible influence, for the same salutary purposes, over the rest of the world.

I think it right to mention these circumstances, because the language of M. de Rayneval (whatever may be its real motive) is undoubtedly consonant to that of the French Cabinet, and, therefore, not immaterial to be stated to your Lordship.

I have communicated the substance of what has passed to the Duke of Dorset, and am persuaded that no circumstance can arise respecting my negotiation in which I shall not have his Grace's cordial assistance and concurrence.

I am, &c.

W. Eden.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Paris, April 17th, 1786.

My Lord,—I now transmit to your Lordship the project of a Commercial Treaty* completed and settled with M. de Rayneval, nearly pursuant to the outlines described in the papers of which your Lordship is already in possession. The variations are not material enough to make it necessary for me to trouble your Lordship with many remarks upon them. The recital states the general objects in the view of the King, and of His Most Christian Majesty.

The first article proceeds to carry the proposed plan into execution; but we have avoided to place our respective nations upon the terms *des nations les plus favorisées*, agreeing that it was an inconvenient expression, which might subject the two Courts mutually to occasions of embarrassment and complaint. In the same article we have reserved all peculiar stipulations, either in present or in future treaties with other states; and also the power to make subsequent alterations for the protection of the revenue, of commerce, or of manufactures. I may add that this article, so far as it respects foreign treaties, is the only one which has apparently met with much doubt and hesitation on the part of the French Ministers. After many interchanges of notes, and many journeys to Versailles, it is now settled as I wished, and is finally acquiesced in.

The second article is for the purpose of preventing alarms and difficulties, in case any objection should occur in either country which has not been foreseen. The third and fourth articles do not require any remark. The fifth opens a discussion in which there will be some difficulties, but every step of which will tend, I hope, to the advantage of His Majesty's subjects, and, probably, also to that of the other contracting parties.

* The Project will be found in the Appendix.

The sixth article was proposed by the French Ministers, and has on their part a liberal and conciliatory appearance, which I was glad to meet. The seventh refers chiefly to Ireland. I had originally proposed to point out the necessity of her specific accession to the Treaty; but, on reflection, it seemed preferable to give to her, in general terms, a full participation in the advantages of the Treaty, and not to indicate any doubt how far she may be disposed to take the requisite steps; but if it should be wished to insert any expression, either less or more pointed, I have every reason to believe that the French Ministers will readily accept it.

The seventh, eighth, and ninth articles of the Project, as originally proposed, respecting the security of mercantile property in case of war, &c., being in some degree provided for, with many other particulars, in the Treaty of Utrecht, I acquiesced in M. de Rayneval's opinion, that it would be objectionable to repeat a part only in the present Treaty; and it would have been a discussion of some length if we had attempted a revision of the whole. We therefore thought it best to make a general reference and reservation, as described in the fifth article.

I wrote so fully on this subject on Thursday last, that I have nothing new to add. The facilities and fairness of the French Ministers have apparently been preserved from the opening of the business to this moment. They have admitted everything that I wished to insert, and they have urged nothing upon me that I was solicitous to avoid. I must add, that the immediate steps to be taken in consequence of the Treaty are, clearly, more advantageous to us than to France; and, as it is impossible in an age so well informed as the present, that either side can long maintain, by mutual consent, any great and glaring prevalence in the scale, I shall think it not only justice, but policy, if we can go, in some respects, beyond the letter of our undertaking.

I shall naturally wait with anxiety for your Lord-

ship's dispatch in answer to this; and, if the plan proposed should have the sanction of His Majesty's approbation, I shall hope that nothing will happen here to prevent my executing it immediately after receiving His Majesty's commands.

I am, &c.,
W. EDEN.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Holwood Hall, April 19th, 1786.

My dear Sir,—Your very interesting packet came to my hands on Sunday afternoon. It will be impossible to return any decisive answer till the Project comes in form; and I have not yet had the opportunity of collecting the sentiments of all those who must be consulted on the subject. I am, therefore, unable to write fully at present. You will certainly hear from me again in a day or two, and I hope by that time we shall have had the Project itself.

In the meanwhile, however, I most cordially congratulate you on the very encouraging prospect of terminating your negotiation in a manner equally for your personal credit and for the public advantage.

The progress you have already made is, I am sure, beyond what any one looked to, who had not communicated with you as particularly as I had before your departure, and is, I own, almost beyond my expectations. I hope we shall be able, notwithstanding the distraction of other business, to keep pace with you in some measure on this side the water.

No time shall be lost unnecessarily, and I trust the issue will be that we may bring forward the measure in the shape you propose this session.

The only doubt which occurs, and which is not yet fully cleared up, is what I stated to you when we first talked over this idea. Whether by the proposed preliminary convention France may not advance nearer

in proportion towards the ultimate object she has in view, than we shall towards ours; consequently, whether, when this convention is agreed to, we may not find increasing difficulties in the points reserved for farther arrangement. This doubt can only be solved by putting together a comparative table of the intercourse between the two countries in the principal articles; 1st. as it stands at present; 2nd. as it would stand under the convention now proposed; 3rd. as it would stand if the Treaty should finally be completed to the extent of what is desired by our manufacturers. I have put this in a train here, and I hope we shall find no difficulty in ascertaining it long before I can receive any answer to this letter. But it may be useful, and will at all events be a good check, if you would have a similar statement prepared from the materials of which you are possessed. You will see that on this great point the opinion of the Cabinet here respecting the present proposal will almost wholly depend.

I trouble you no farther therefore till then, especially as there does not occur to me at present any suggestion that can be of any use in the present state of the business.

The turn our finance business has hitherto taken is highly satisfactory; and the impression it seems by your account to make is not less so.

I wish you may have leisure to make out an exact state of the comparative income and expenditure of France.

M. de Calonne seems to have been so communicative, as to make one almost suspect he had some particular object in giving an impression which is at the first view unfavourable to his own country. But if the account he gave you is just, it seems that they will after some time begin to have the means of extricating themselves quicker than we can hope to do. But their embarrassment must, I think, be sufficient in the interval to secure at least for a time a sincere disposition to peace.

Adieu, my dear Sir, and believe me to be, with great truth and esteem,

Most faithfully and sincerely yours,

W. PITT.

The Right Hon. W. Eden.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

Downing Street, Thursday night, April 20th, 1786.

(Private.)

My dear Sir, — Since writing to you yesterday morning, and before the departure of the messenger from hence, I received your letter of the 17th, containing the Project as drawn up in concert with the French Ministers.

The difficulty of procuring as full a Cabinet as is necessary on this important business during the recess, would at all events make a short delay necessary before an answer could be returned. I regret it the less, as on one or two points some explanation seems necessary, and by stating them to you immediately very little, if any, time will be lost in the final decision. Indeed, I scarce have a doubt that the answer you will be enabled to send by the return of the messenger, will enable us then to give almost instantly the instructions for completing the proposed Treaty. I have it infinitely at heart to bring it thus far to perfection before the Parliament separates, and I am persuaded it may easily be done.

But in every point of view it is essential that before the conclusion, everything should be fully and distinctly understood. The first head on which explanation is wanting, is what I stated in my letter yesterday.

The papers we have here (to which you refer in your former letter to me), ascertain (and I suppose exactly) the articles which are subject either to prohibitions or to higher duties on being imported in British ships or being the produce of Great Britain; but they do not show what the duty on the goods subject to such prohibition is, when imported from

other countries. Of course they do not ascertain on what footing our trade will stand under the proposed Treaty, as the words of the Project are properly general.

It is indispensable that it should be ascertained accurately what variation would be produced on each specific article of trade, especially on those which are most material.

For this purpose, Lord Carmarthen encloses to you duplicates of the papers I have mentioned, pointing out in what they seem defective; and also a list of the articles thought most material, which is in truth a list of the articles which were the subjects of examination before the Committee of Council.

The French Government can, I conceive, have no difficulty in giving the information we require, and we propose to enable you to do the same officially on our part, by a messenger who will probably set out to-morrow. What I have now stated relates to explanations necessary for judging with accuracy of the present effect of the Treaty.

The next point is one on which it would be premature to give any decisive opinion, till we are prepared to send in proper form our answer to the Project. But you may, in the meantime, make use of the suggestion to avoid subsequent delay.

By the terms of the first article reserving a liberty for future modifications, and also for exclusive stipulations with other countries, I think the whole Treaty would be rendered loose and absolutely precarious. The French Government seemed, by the observations transmitted in your former letter, to be of this opinion, but the terms of the Project do not seem to have remedied their objection. Either country might by general prohibitions at any time deprive the other of all beneficial intercourse, if it should have itself no occasion to import at all the articles on which the Treaty of the other might depend; or it might make an *exclusive treaty* with some other country which could supply those articles, and then make

those prohibitions general against the rest of the world.

France, for instance, might stipulate to take hardware from parts of Germany, cotton from Switzerland, and prohibit them from all other countries, England included. We might do the same things as to their linens, wines, &c., and by this evasion the whole Treaty would be defeated.

It seems therefore desirable that at least as to the great articles which will compose the trade on each side, it should be stipulated that they shall, during the continuance of this Treaty, be always importable on terms at least as favourable as those on which they can now be imported from any country which has not by actual treaty an express preference at present, as in the case of Portugal. I have even some doubt whether this is enough to give us at present any increased export of cottons, because I doubt whether they are now admissible into France from any country on duties sufficiently moderate. All I wish, however, at present is, to convey this to you as an idea floating in our minds, that you may make what use of it you judge proper. I shall hope to hear by the return of the messenger what you think of it, and what facility or difficulty there may probably be in modelling the Treaty accordingly.

The only remaining point which occurs to me is the article inserted with a view to Ireland.

I apprehend a possibility that in its present shape it may imply, or at least countenance, a doubt, whether Ireland would have a right to be admitted to the benefit of the Treaty, unless some such express provision were inserted. But certainly the King ought to be considered as treating, of course, for the whole of his dominions; though his separate parliaments will be to judge respectively, how far they will pass laws for giving effect to any treaty.

Perhaps it would be better to turn the article so as to express that the benefits to be given to the King's subjects should take place as to his several

dominions, only as laws are passed in each of them respectively, to secure to French subjects the advantages intended to be given them by the Treaty. I do not mean to point out precise words, but only to explain my general notion.

This is all I need trouble you with at present; and I have enlarged on what I have said, much more than was necessary.

You will, I am sure, turn it to the best use the thing admits of. I have only to wish you the same success in the future progress of the work, as you have hitherto met with, and the credit and satisfaction which you will, I am sure, derive from the whole of it.

I am, my dear Sir, with great regard and esteem, most sincerely yours,

W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, April 21st, 1786.

My dear Sir,—Thinking it may explain still more clearly the object of the information which I mentioned as being necessary in my former letters, I have sent you a sketch of the sort of comparative table, the blanks of which ought to be as correctly filled as possible, before we judge finally of the proposed Treaty. It may perhaps be of some use to you in your inquiries, and I shall also have the opportunity of having it returned with any corrections and deletions in the shape of it, or in the particular articles to be specified, which you may think it wants.

The columns containing the quantities supposed to be now imported into either country, or expected in future, can only be supplied, in many instances, from conjecture, though the evidence of the manufacturer will furnish some tolerable ground to go upon.

I need not suggest that though the French may perhaps compile such a table for themselves, it is not

our business to lead them to the whole result; for I believe it will appear from such a table fairly made out, that the balance of trade is likely to be, ultimately, very much in our favour; and secondly, that the increased revenue which we shall draw from their increased importations, will bear a much larger proportion to the value of the articles, than the increase of their revenue will to the value of our increased exports.

I omitted in my former letter to take notice of what you mentioned of the wish expressed by the French Ministers, that measures should be taken here to increase the consumption of their wine.

It would certainly be idle to pretend that the excise on wine is intended solely to meet this idea; but it is, as you know, true, that the addition it would make to the fair trade between the two countries, was one among the objects originally proposed by it. And to this extent, merit may fairly be taken for it with the French Government.

I have no doubt that I shall actually propose the measure in a few days, and I believe it will meet with no real difficulty; though it may be safer not to state it to them more strongly, than as a thing very much in contemplation, and of which general notice has already been given to Parliament.

I observe that you seem to wish some immediate intimation to be given to Parliament of the progress of the Treaty, and the probability that it will soon be laid before them.

But I cannot help thinking that it is always more prudent to avoid any public declaration on the subject till the business is actually concluded, and the effect will be much stronger by bringing it forward at once complete. In the meantime there is no danger that our attendance will not be full enough in about a fortnight, by which time I look to its being on the table.

I am in hopes the suggestions in our letters by the last messenger are so conformable to the spirit in

which the Treaty has hitherto gone on, that they can occasion no fresh difficulty. It has even occurred to me as a doubt, on further reflection, whether we should not secure the object to both countries still better, by omitting altogether the *reservation* for any future exclusive treaties.

I see hardly any reason against such an omission on our part, except perhaps a faint hope that some political advantage might one day be derived by giving at least an apparent preference over France to some particular articles from Spain. But if the reservation is continued, at least the material articles should be accepted and fixed now as far as I mentioned in my last letter. My reason for throwing out all these ideas as they strike me is, that you may sound the French Government beforehand, and that when we come to deliberate finally on the project, we may know what alterations we may propose without the danger of their being objected to or creating delay on your side of the water.

I am, my dear Sir, with great truth, faithfully and sincerely yours,

W. Pitt.

P. S. A copy of the book of rules and a manuscript account from the Custom-house, bringing down the account of state of duties to the latest period, will be enclosed by Lord Carmarthen.

Right Hon. W. Eden.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Whitehall, April 25th, 1786.

Dear Sir,—I am ashamed of not having sooner acknowledged the receipt of your very obliging private letter, but the hurry and bustle naturally attendant on removing from one office to another, has prevented me writing anything more than absolute necessity required, and I must trust to your goodness to impute my silence to its true cause.

If France can ever be sincere, I have no doubt of

your abilities bringing the great object of your mission to a favourable as well as speedy conclusion. Allowing, however, our neighbours some degree of fair dealing in this business, the very just remark you make of their having perhaps some latent object in contemplation, from which our attention is to be diverted by commercial discussions, ought by no means to be lost sight of.

I trust the report in our newspapers of the French being in future to clothe the Russian troops is exaggerated, if not totally groundless.

Believe me, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

Right Hon. W. Eden. CARMARTHEN.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, May 2nd, 1786.

My dear Sir,—The late hours of the House of Commons have obliged me to detain Lord Carmarthen's messenger some hours longer than I intended.

The purpose for which he is despatched is I hope in a great measure unnecessary, as I trust you will have received and transmitted before this the papers referred to.

We do not want the information with any view to make a public statement of the comparative advantages, which would certainly be attended with inconvenience. Nor do we think that any such comparison should come under discussion (if it can be avoided) between you and those with whom you negotiate.

But it seems essential for our own satisfaction in giving decisive instructions on a point which has, formerly at least been the subject of so much popular clamour, to be authentically apprised of all the particulars which will be affected by the proposed Projet.

The general knowledge from the examination of the manufacturers and from other sources, is enough

to satisfy me that the general principle is right, but still we all feel the minute information necessary. I should think if that information turns out as I expect, there can be little difficulty in authorising you to sign the Treaty with the alterations before suggested, and which by your last dispatch we find there will be no objection to.

It would perhaps, however, be of use, if you have any opportunity in the meantime, to sound how far the French are likely to be disposed to meet our ideas in the subsequent negotiation.

It seems also material to know distinctly what ground we have to depend on the immediate revocation (which I think you state in your letter) of the late prohibitory edicts. Many of them, I apprehend, are only to enforce prohibitions which subsisted before, and which affected other countries as well as Great Britain, as for instance, in the article of cottons.

If this is so, the Treaty (which only puts us at present on the footing of the most favoured nation) will give us no security for revoking any of these edicts; and this must, therefore, rest, as it seems, only on ministerial assurances. You will, I am sure, see the importance of our knowing precisely on what footing this will stand.

It occurs to me also, that the French Ministers stated in their observations on your first papers the propriety of communicating expressly what are the exclusive privileges in the family compact.

It will be desirable to know if they go to any points besides the *petit cabotage*, which was the only thing stated to you, and also precisely what that *petit cabotage* is.

I am obliged to write all this, as you will perceive, in great haste.

I am, my dear Sir,
Most sincerely yours,
W. Pitt.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Paris, May 6th.

My Lord,—King, the messenger, arrived this morning with your Lordship's dispatch No. 9; and as it appears to be the wish of His Majesty's Ministers to have in their possession the fullest documents respecting the various parts of inquiry stated in my dispatch No. 4, I feel very happy that I can now send such information pursuant to your Lordship's instructions. I am also glad that I can do this without any delay; being unfortunately of opinion that the advantages of the proposed Treaty were evidently such as to make it highly eligible to be concluded. Whatever might be the result of inquiries respecting particular parts of future detail, I certainly had urged it forwards upon a general principle of mutual liberality and amity; and I have, consequently, subjected myself to some embarrassment in now pressing the French Ministers, who had agreed at my desire to a general principle, to enter into an examination of all its consequences, before His Majesty's Ministers can think it right to adopt it. In what I have done, however, I meant what was most essential to His Majesty's service, and nothing unfair towards those with whom I am treating; and if the ultimate result should be satisfactory to His Majesty, I shall be content, in the meantime, to bear these and greater anxieties.

I went to Versailles this morning, and found M. de Rayneval's language less cordial and conciliatory than in our former conferences. On my asking him about the *petit cabotage*, from which Spanish vessels were exempt in the ports of France, he explained it to me as a reciprocal exemption between the two countries from a tonnage duty in their respective ports, and said that, as to the *grand cabotage* and other duties, the Spanish vessels were upon the footing of the Dutch and all other Powers, except England. He continued to word this exception so as

to raise a doubt whether England ought not still to continue subject to it, and on a different footing from all other Powers. And then, by way of explanation, searched some time our project of the Treaty, and observed upon it, that on this point we gave no reciprocity, for England was to be put in a situation to carry into the ports of France the produce of other nations, but France was not to do the same in the British ports, in many instances where it would be allowed to us here. He then went into many remarks respecting some doubt in the minds of the Controller General and others, whether the whole would not prove a mass of gratuitous concessions towards England. That in our Quincaillerie*, Poterie, &c., &c., we were getting rid of prohibitions, and gaining an admission upon duties possibly dangerous to the French manufacturers; and that France, as he had often repeated, had no object yet presented to her but her wines, which were to be left subject to a duty of one-third more than those of Portugal, though Portugal herself had, by Treaty, given to France the same advantages in commerce that she gives to England. He pressed this with so much earnestness and with so much detail, and in a manner bordering so nearly upon peevishness, that I closed the conversation as soon as I could, though with some concern that we parted less amicable than we had hitherto done, and I am not without fear that some difficulties are arising. There is an instability of opinions here in public transactions, which exposes every business to the greatest uncertainties till it is actually completed.

The printed work which I send is not meant to be published,—but the Liberty of the Press, at Paris, is become such that it will soon be sold everywhere.

* Hardware.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, May 31st, 1786.

My dear Sir,—Various circumstances have delayed despatching the present messenger, and have, I fear, kept you in a state of unpleasant suspense. The close attendance to which we have been kept in the House, and the effect of that fatigue, which I have felt enough to interfere with all other business, have chiefly contributed to it. The interval, however, has, I hope, been well spent; and I trust the plan now proposed will, in the whole, be the shortest way of completely attaining our great object, or at least bringing it fairly to an issue.

I need not trouble you with my reasons at large; I refer for them to my former long letter*, and to the dispatch now sent by Lord Carmarthen. Be assured that nothing shall be omitted here to press the business to a conclusion in its present train. If the French continue in as good a disposition as they have been, I really think there need be very little additional delay. The instructions and declaration are so worded that I trust you cannot possibly be put under any degree of embarrassment with the French Government from this change of mode.

The temporary delay you will easily account for, and the measure itself you will, I am persuaded, make less of, as the strongest proof of our sincere desire to complete the business on a solid footing, as soon as possible. Specific instructions shall be prepared as soon as possible, relative to the particular articles we wish to have enumerated, but I rather hope to have the advantage of hearing from you on the subject in the meantime. The chief articles are, certainly, those mentioned in my former letter, and they are few. The great point will be, on what principle to regulate the quantum of duty to be fixed on each. Perhaps the best rate for all the articles to be enume-

* This letter, detailing Mr. Pitt's objections to the "Projet," will be found in the Appendix.

rated would be *that at which they were admitted, from the most favoured nations, before the late prohibitions.*

And, in this way, one stipulation would provide for all these special articles. I do not, however, know what effect this would have on the cottons, as the amount of the duties formerly subsisting on them (though meant to be inclosed in one of our letters) was, I believe, omitted. Perhaps, in any settlement, the prohibition may be insisted upon by France on such branches of the cotton as would interfere with East India articles; but they are only of the finer sort, and might, I understand, be easily distinguished by *the weight.* The other sorts we certainly might expect to have admitted on moderate duties, if we give an adequate return for that and the other advantages we may gain by the Treaty. In some, at least, of the articles to be imported here, and which the French may wish to specify, the same principle would, perhaps, answer for fixing the rate of duty here. It would make the duty on linens a moderate one. It would reduce the wines to a level with those of Portugal, which is going a great way on that article, though I think we ought not to refuse going so far if we get all that we have a right to in return for it. Perhaps in the brandies it may be desired to substitute a lower duty than the present; and I am far from thinking that it may not be worth our while to admit of some abatement.

It is, indeed, just possible that France may state that anything like the present duties on wines and brandies would be exorbitant, in comparison with the low duties which would be fixed on our hardware and some other articles. They have not, however, yet pointed to any such argument; and, it they should, the answer is obvious, for both wines and brandies can afford to pay, without interfering with the consumption, duties so high in proportion to the value as would amount to a prohibition on the cost of articles we have to send to France; and, in truth (now that our Excise Bill is, I think I

may say, *secure*), I see no reason why the importation of various sorts of French wine may not come up to what it was in the beginning of the century, which, I think, appears by authentic accounts to have amounted to 10 or 12,000 tons. Much of this, however, is a little premature at present, but I mention what occurs, wishing to have your opinion beforehand on every point where I can. If no general standard can be found such as I have referred to, the duties must be fixed separately on each article. The proposed principle, I conceive, would be to establish such moderate duties on each as will be advantageous to the revenue, and not too much check the importation. And, even in this way, the detail on the few articles to be specified will not, I hope, be long. I trust, indeed, that a short time (if there occurs no unexpected difficulty) will bring this great work to a prosperous issue. I am satisfied, on the whole, that under the present circumstances, this mode promises better, with a view both to the measure itself, and the effect in this country, than that which we at first looked to. Some advantage there might have been in opening the measure gradually, but I believe the public will be prepared enough for the measure; and we should have hazarded discontent of another kind by bringing it forward partially; besides which, the session is now so far advanced that it would have been scarce possible to proceed. If this plan succeeds as I hope, we shall be ready to meet Parliament as early in the autumn as is necessary to give effect to it. I will endeavour to find the first moment of leisure for expediting the African business, and will also write on the subject of your letter marked *secret*.

I should be glad, in the meantime, for my own information, to know your ideas more at large on the subject of the armed neutrality. As to the point you state in your private letter, I can only say that I am persuaded it ought not, and I trust it does not, give you a moment's uneasiness. My letter, I am

afraid, will carry evident marks of haste, and will account for my adding no more.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Sincerely and faithfully yours,
W. PITT.

The following letter is from Mr. George Rose, whose hair seems to have stood on an end at the idea of opening the silk trade.

Mr. George Rose to Mr. Eden.

Great George Street, Wednesday,
May 31st, 4 P.M.

My dear Sir,—I do not at all wonder at your anxiety or your impatience. I do assure you, however, that not a day has been lost since the receipt of your dispatch with the account of the prohibitions, &c., in considering the several points, many of which are certainly important: the perplexities arise almost entirely from the prohibitions or prohibitory duties of last year, pending the Treaty; any such impositions after a negotiation actually entered upon can hardly be considered as fair, and the annulling of those ought perhaps to be the first thing insisted, but that, I fear, must not be attempted. You will, I trust, upon the whole be satisfied with the dispatch and the letter from Mr. Pitt, which you will receive herewith; they afford the fairest ground that can be taken under all the circumstances of our situations, considered relatively to that of France, as we cannot get rid of their recent prohibitions of high duties.

I think I have as little political cowardice as should belong to any one in any situation in the smallest degree responsible, but I tremble at the very mention of a repeal of our manufactured silk laws: I verily believe the prohibition even of that article is unwise; at the same time I consider an attempt to make an alteration respecting it as the most dangerous that can be thought of. Consider the situation of Spital-

fields, where there are more than 40,000 weavers and other workmen, in the capital itself. Recollect the consequences * when the Duke of Bedford made a less alarming experiment. I am persuaded that the very people who have held the language you mention would not avow that to their fellow manufacturers. The condition, too, that they would annex to the measure is a serious one; you will see by the accounts herewith sent that the revenue arising from raw silk is more than 200,000*l.* a year.

You will, I trust, be satisfied upon the whole with the dispatch you will receive herewith; it lays the foundation for a treaty on the fairest footing which circumstances will admit. We have carried our wine measure so far most triumphantly; we shall go through the Committee to-day with little opposition, and have *the debate* upon the report, which, I hope, will not be later than Friday, but of that we cannot be sure.

The cambric business cannot be arranged till next Session; it would be parting with too much out of our hands. I write this at the last moment before the messenger goes, literally while my hair is combing, not suspecting that he would be despatched sooner than to-morrow. I will write again on Friday.

I am, my dear Sir,
Most faithfully and truly yours,
GEORGE ROSE.

* Mr. Rose alludes to the riot of the Spitalfields Weavers, when the Duke of Bedford's house was attacked.

CHAP. VI.

The "Projet" abandoned.—The "Déclaration" and "Contre-déclaration." — Punishment of Madame Lamotte.—Louis XVI.'s Journey to Cherbourg.— Mr. Eden left for some time without Instructions. — Lord Carmarthen's private Letter.— The Instructions arrive.— The Queen at the Duchess of Polignac's. — Mr. Eden negotiates successfully. — The Treaty concluded on the 26th of September. — Mr. Pitt congratulates Mr. Eden. — Letter of Lord Sheffield. — Lord Carmarthen's Dinner. — Letter of Mr. Woodfall.

THE preliminary "Projet" agreed to by Mr. Eden and M. de Rayneval not being considered sufficiently advantageous by the English Government, the mode of negotiation was varied, and a "Déclaration" was transmitted to the French Government, which replied by a "Contre-déclaration."*

There is no question that at this time the English Government entertained great doubt as to the sincerity of the French Ministers. There was great antagonism between the two countries with respect to the affairs of India and Holland. The Royal Progress to Cherbourg, together with the increase of the French navy, were not calculated to weaken the prejudices of the English nation, or remove the suspicions of the Ministers that the Commercial Treaty would only prove a stepping-stone for French aggrandisement.

Mr. Eden was therefore placed in a difficult position, and it required all his temper and tact to prevent the rupture of the negotiations. Mr. Jenkinson, the chief adviser of Mr. Pitt's government, also added to Mr. Eden's embarrassments, by the very hard bargain he was determined to make with the French Government.

* The "Déclaration" and "Contre-déclaration" will be found in the Appendix.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Paris, June 6th, 1786.

My Lord,—My principal motive for re-dispatching the messenger so soon, with the concurrence of the Duke of Dorset, is to submit to your lordship how far His Majesty may think it expedient to avail himself of the apparent disposition of this Court to concur in any further measures for adding stability to the pacific system which at present prevails in the world. It is a consideration of infinite importance, and if any measure should be desired respecting it, I could much wish to be apprised of it before the Duke of Dorset avails himself of his leave of absence, for the purpose of arranging some family affairs in England. It would rest with His Grace to mention the business, and to carry it into effect.

I mention it only because it is in some degree connected with the line of my situation, and many occasions arise in my conferences with the French ministers which necessarily lead to it in all its parts. In truth, from many circumstances attending the commercial discussions, it is impossible for me not to feel that my ostensible negotiation is a secondary object in the view of this government.

It is difficult to feel confident in the sincerity of any foreign Court, but there are strong appearances here of a disposition to believe that Great Britain and France ought to unite in some solid plan of permanent peace, and many of the most considerable and efficient people talk with little reserve of the dangers to be apprehended from the revolted colonies, if they should be encouraged to gain commercial strength and consistency of government.

I cannot presume to conjecture the sentiments of His Majesty and his confidential minister on this great subject; but from what I see here, I should think myself culpable if I omitted to suggest it for consideration.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

Wm. Eden.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Paris, June 8th, 1786.

My Lord,—Pursuant to your lordship's instructions, I delivered the King's declaration to the French Ministers on Tuesday last. Monsieur de Vergennes received it with expressions of extreme respect towards His Majesty, and of earnest wishes for a proper conclusion of the business in question; and he added that it would be laid before His Most Christian Majesty without delay.

The intention of His Most Christian Majesty to go to Cherbourg on the 21st instant, was a principal subject of conversation on Tuesday last at Versailles. This intention was announced only that morning, and is attributed to an anxiety on the part of M. de Castries to lessen in some degree his own responsibility for very great expenses which are incurred and incurring for an undertaking, the success of which is a subject of much doubt, and of great diversity of opinions.

The Cardinal de Rohan declined presenting any petition for an alteration of the order communicated to him by M. de Breteuil, and is gone to Auvergne.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect,
My Lord,
Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,
W. Eden.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, June 10th, 1786.

Sir,—I received your several dispatches, No. 20, 21, and 22, by Basilico, on Thursday, and was extremely glad to find so much appearance of a friendly disposition in the French Ministers with respect to the new mode proposed by us of continuing the negotiation. The assurance given you by M. de Rayneval that an answer of the most conciliatory kind should be given to His Majesty's declaration is certainly extremely agreeable to us, and I cannot but

flatter myself that those with whom you treat are at least perfectly convinced of our being desirous of proceeding, throughout the whole of this business, in the fairest and most candid manner.

It will be impossible to take any further step with propriety until you have received the answer officially from the French Ministers. As soon, however, as that shall have been transmitted hither, you may depend upon receiving further instructions with as little delay as possible.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
CARMARTHEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

Paris, June, 1786.

His Most Christian Majesty goes to Cherbourg on the 21st.

This is a sudden resolution, taken on Sunday last. M. de Castries is very confident that a port may be made for the safe reception of eighty ships of the line, and great expenses are incurred and greater are proposed, but opinions differ so much as to the success, that he thinks it prudent to have the sanction of the King's personal concurrence.

Some of the best informed Frenchmen, whose names I am afraid to mention in a letter, talk of it to me as an idle childish project, and though some of them would hold that language if their opinions were the reverse, the manner in which they express themselves gives an appearance of sincerity. John Bull, however, will rub his eyes upon the opposite coast, and the subject of fortifying Plymouth and Portsmouth* will come again under discussion.

* The Duke of Richmond's proposition for fortifying Portsmouth and Plymouth was rejected on February 26th, 1786. The numbers on the division were equal—169 to 169, and the Speaker gave the casting vote against it.

I am not sorry for this Cherbourg journey. The *fanfaronnade* of the royal carriages and the guards on the coast opposite to our dockyards will do us no harm; nor could it have been exhibited if it had been certain that the work in question had not been a very important one. It will, however, draw our attention to the two points which the French Ministers affect to think expedient. A state of readiness for a war, and a system of intercourse and commerce to maintain peace.

The Cardinal de Rohan is gone to his retirement in Auvergne: it is said to be a comfortless and unhealthy place. Madame Lamotte is said to have got a pension, instead of the whipping ordered by the Parliament. When Breteuil, who has a great triumph in this business, went to the cardinal to demand his resignation of the place of Grand Aumonier, the cardinal answered that he had already sent it.

Breteuil still urged him to sign some further paper, and said he was sorry, but was obliged "d'exécuter les ordres du roi son maître." "Monsieur," said the cardinal, "le roi m'a fait justice, et je n'ai plus besoin d'un exécuteur."

Many people vent their spleen by telling this, and Breteuil is in consequence called "Bourreau Breteuil."

I am, dear Sir, very respectfully and sincerely yours,

WM. EDEN.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, June 10th, 1786.

My dear Sir,—I am sorry that I do not see precisely in the same light as you do the propriety of giving in the present moment the instructions suggested in your last letter.

But I think it would not have a good appearance to have again varied the mode of the negotiation, without waiting for the answer to our declaration: and in fact our instructions may be in some measure

governed by it. I own, too, that I rather incline to settling the last article of the Treaty as well as the others, before any of them are signed. And as the specification of duties would, according to our idea, go only to a few leading articles and not to all the branches of trade, I do not see that the discussion need last long. We are now arrived fairly at the end of all public business which could furnish matter of contest in the House of Commons (the charges against Mr. Hastings excepted). I shall soon, therefore, be able to give unremitting attention to the business of your negotiation. You may be assured, and I think you are, of the most effectual support, and you have a right to expect more despatch in the future stages of the business than has been hitherto practicable.

The measure of the excise has succeeded with more facility than could have been expected; the Bill passed the House of Commons yesterday on a division of 71 to 33, after a short and languid debate.

We shall probably have some attendance next Tuesday, when Mr. Fox moves the charge respecting Benares*; and after that our chief difficulty will be to get a House for the next fortnight.

In the meantime I have hardly hours enough to read all the papers necessary on that voluminous article, which makes me shorten this letter as much as I can.

I say nothing on the subject of the guarantee, for I think it too delicate a business to stir in without more deliberation than my engagements would yet suffer to be given to it here; and though in the commercial business I think there are reasons for believing the French may be sincere, I cannot listen without suspicion to their professions of political friendship.

I am, my dear Sir, yours faithfully and sincerely,

W. PITT.

Rt. Hon. W. Eden.

* On this charge Mr. Pitt voted against Warren Hastings.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

(Private.)

My dear Lord,—I believe that His Most Christian Majesty's journey will take place at the time first proposed. I am told that he is to sleep the first night at Rambouillet, where he has a place lately purchased; the second night at the Duc de Harcourt's, and the third at Cherbourg, at which place and Havre he will pass about three days, and then, probably by a different route, will sleep at the Cardinal de Rochefoucault's, whose place is said to be exceedingly magnificent. None of the Ministers are to go except M. de Castries and M. de Segur.

The works at Cherbourg are not mentioned here with much respect, more especially as it is not supposed that they can be in any degree finished in a small space of time, and it is well remarked that whatever in this country is expensive as a public work, will be long in its completion; and that whatever work is long in its progress here, is never completed. At the same time there is no doubt that the Ministers agree that the plan for forming a large basin for a fleet will be perfectly practicable. I presume that your Lordship and the King's Ministers have all the intelligence that you wish on the subject. I have not thought to give any attention towards it, but if you wish for further information, it is very probable that I can obtain it.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect,

Your most faithful obedient servant,

W. Eden.

Hôtel d'Elbeuf, rue de Vaugirard,
June 15th.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Private.) Paris, Saturday Evening, June 17th.

My dear Sir,—I yesterday received the Contre-déclaration, and the Duke of Dorset, who goes to-morrow, will carry it to England.

I send you at the same time the note which accompanied it. I hope it will give full satisfaction; for those who framed it and those who passed it, from the highest to the lowest, with the exception only of one or two individuals, were equally desirous to make it as acceptable as possible.

In despite of my wishes to think otherwise, I cannot help fearing that the arrangement of this interminable tariff will prove a *pierre d'achoppement.*

With what face I am to propose the importation of English cottons and the exclusion of French silks I do not well foresee! By the other mode which was proposed, I could perhaps have carried the one and maintained the other with little remark; but in the present mode it would be a startling and offensive circumstance. Besides, in this specification of articles, we shall give the Treaty an appearance in the eyes of Ireland, which it would not have had under general provisions and expressions.

It is easy to argue plausibly upon the power of France, to render the whole Treaty illusory by general prohibitions and general augmentations of the duties, but I believe it to be a much sounder principle that if we obtain from an enlightened nation, possessing such energy of government, the same privileges and indulgences as are given to the most favoured nation, we obtain all that we ought to ask, or can expect to be cordially executed. In short, you have now brought me to a point, through which I do not clearly or safely see my way. But I like perfectly the aspect of the business according to my own notion of conducting it. I think it only creditable and right to announce the expediency of fixing duties to particular articles. I think the idea a solid improvement to my original project, but I cannot see the wisdom of risking the Treaty upon the discussions which this will require.

But even in the strict prosecution of your plan, I could now, and with the strictest consistency, conclude all the other parts of the Treaty; for nothing

can be more consistent than to say, "We are now formally and authentically agreed, in the names of our two Sovereigns, to place each other upon the present footing of the most favoured nation. Proceed then to do it, and to accompany it with all the regulations that at the same time occur to you for the benefit of your merchants, the security of their property, &c. We are further agreed to name certain articles, the duties of which shall be unchangeable during the period of the Treaty. It is an important consideration and of some difficulty. We will proceed in it with good faith, but in the meantime do not delay the other benefits, respecting which we have no doubt on either side." This, to my feeling, is plain sense and solidly founded.

I will only add that whatever determination you take, it ought not to be delayed, and I shall wait most impatiently for further instructions. It is not safe that this business should languish.

I thought that I had done with this subject, but must add a further remark. Whilst the Parliament was sitting, it was very possible that any body of men whose interests were not included to their satisfaction in the Treaty, might have raised among themselves some expressions of discontent, but this would not be the case during the prorogation. We should have the advantage of information from any body of men, who might think their interests capable of being forwarded, and the unfinished article is of that elastic kind, that it will stretch to any possible point. I have from the first thought it would be an advantage in such a business, to find a resting place in its progress, after securing all that is certainly right, in order to ascertain at due leisure the most disputable points.

You will observe that the Contre-déclaration leaves us in possession of the right to maintain the Portugal treaty; this was granted with some reluctance.

The exchange of these instruments being a solemn act between the two Crowns, I doubt whether

there should not be some mention of the business in your speech at the prorogation, but of that you are the best judge; it will be liked here.

In a late allusion which you made to the idea of the guarantee, you seemed to mention it as an offer of French friendship. It was by no means a French idea. I have always believed that it would ultimately become the joint interest of France with Great Britain to secure their possessions in the Atlantic and if such policy is just, perhaps the time is well suited to it.

It is not a very important piece of news, but it is believed at present that the "fustigation" and branding of Madame Lamotte will take place, and on Monday or Tuesday next, publicly.

It said that she is proved not to belong to the House of Valois* as she pretended, and that this changes the intentions respecting her. It is reported that she has attempted to destroy herself. We have very warm weather here.

I am, my dear Sir,
Most respectfully and sincerely yours,
WM. EDEN.

The following letter relates to the punishment inflicted on Madame Lamotte.

Madame Lamotte was sentenced for her participation in the celebrated "necklace" affair. Mr. Eden, in his MS. Memoir of the French Revolution, says, "Many of the details in that process furnished matter of just indignation against one of the first persons of the hierarchy, Sa Sainteté le Cardinal Rohan, whose vices, follies, and ridiculous ambition had made him the dupe of the Lamottes and the Cagliostros.† It was attempted to involve the Queen of France in the odious parts of the transaction in which both her person and her handwriting had been counterfeited.

* Madame Lamotte claimed to be a member of the Royal family.

† Cagliostro was discharged; on leaving Paris he declared that he would not return till the Bastille was a "promenade publique."—*Auckland MSS.*

It is, however, certain, that though she probably had seen the necklace, and may have wished to possess it, she was utterly incapable of any act or thought tending to fraud. But the calumnies of the Parisians were directed against her with much malignity, and were circulated in printed libels and letters through the provinces, and became a symptom, and in some degree a cause, of the catastrophe that was preparing."

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Extract.)

Paris, June, 1786.

Madame Lamotte's sentence was executed yesterday morning. She was called up at five, and informed that the court wished to see her. She had no suspicion of the judgment, which is not communicated here, except in a capital sentence. She went in an undress, without stays, which proved convenient. Upon the greffier's reading the sentence, her surprise, rage, and shrieks were beyond description.

The bourreau and his assistants instantly seized her and carried her into an outward court, where she was fastened to a cart, with a halter round her neck. The bourreau talked to her like a tooth-drawer, and assured her most politely that it would soon be over.

The whipping was slight and *pro formâ*, but the marking was done with some severity; after which, she was carried to the Salpêtrière, where her hair was cut off, and she was put in the uniform of the house.

It is a good idea that the "V" on her shoulders (Voleuse) stands for Valois. When D'Oliva * was told that she was adjudged "hors de cour," she thought it a prohibition against going to Versailles, and promised heartily to obey it.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

W. Eden.

* D'Oliva had personated Marie Antoinette.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Hôtel d'Elbœuf, Paris,
(Private.) June 29th, 1786.

My dear Lord,—I shall not trouble you by this courier with any official acknowledgment of your dispatch, as you give me reason to hope that I shall immediately have further occasion to address you ministerially. In the meantime, however, I am under great obligations to you for having authorised me to inform the French Ministers, that the Contre-déclaration had been laid before his Majesty, and afterwards mentioned to me by your Lordship with expressions of much satisfaction.

His Most Christian Majesty returns to Versailles to-day, and the Queen has assembled all her dames d'honneur, et du palais, in order to give a dinner "aux voyageurs." His Most Christian Majesty went to sea enough to be sick, or to feel, as the term is, "un petit soulèvement de cœur." General Harcourt, who is here at present, means to go to England through Normandy, and by Cherbourg. He will probably, therefore, be able to give your Lordship some satisfactory information.

Mr. Wedgwood to Mr. Eden.

Etruria, June 30th, 1786.

Dear Sir,—I was last night honoured with your good letter of the 22nd, and sincerely thank you for the kind attention you bestow upon the interests of our manufacture, and your earnestness to promote its sale and general circulation, and it is with no small degree of concern that I observe the papers which I delivered to the Lords' Committee of Trade at their Lordships' request, do not meet your approbation.

Having left the copies of those papers in London, I cannot at this moment refer to particulars with any minuteness, but fear I have expressed my meaning in them very imperfectly, to give occasion to some pas-

sages in your letter. I have now sent for the copies, which I will look over, and reconsider with all the attention I am able; will then take the liberty of troubling you with a few lines, and persuade myself that we shall not ultimately be found to differ in *general principles*, however I may be mistaken in some particular deductions from these principles. All I entreat of you for the present is, that you will be so kind as to suspend your final opinion upon them, till I have an opportunity of explaining those parts which appear to me not to have been understood, no doubt from my want of clearness in expressing them.

With respect to my estimates of the duties upon *poterie* and *fayence*, I believe they are pretty accurate, and I must beg your patience to some detail, in order to show you that much more conclusive calculations are necessary for this purpose than can be made upon a service of enamelled table ware.

It must be observed, in the first place, what a trifling variation in many instances, constitutes the difference between *poterie* and *fayence*. A single line of colour put on, not by enamelling after the ware is finished as *poterie*, but while it is in the clay state, by a stroke upon the lathe, which is done in an instant,—a single hoop of a different colour, now made upon our beer mugs, flower-pots, tea and coffee sets, and a hundred different articles,—a little marbling or mixture of the clays, of which great quantities of our cheap wares are now made,—and every variation of colour, however cheap and simple,—constitutes *fayence*, though there is little difference in the prices of the goods themselves; for supposing one hundredweight of the plain ware to be worth 16*s*., the same weight of like articles in this cheap *fayence* would not be worth more than 20*s*., though the latter must pay a duty of 20 livres instead of 1 livre, 8 sols, paid by the former. And a much greater quantity of the cheap *fayence* is made and exported than of the enamelled, which is the dearest kind; which accounts for

the general average duty being so high as 50 per cent.

It was a review of these averages, and wondering how the mass of potters, not myself, would be affected by so heavy a duty falling upon their lower species of *fayence*, that put me upon endeavouring to class the several species of earthenware differently, that the duties might fall more equally on the several wares according to their respective values; and induced me likewise to propose a small additional duty upon the *poterie*, in order to purchase thereby some diminution of the extravagant duty on the *fayence*. This may be impracticable, and I am sorry to hear that it is so; but I don't yet see in what respect the principle is unsound, or that it is unbecoming in my character to propose such an alteration.

You will perceive now why this would not appear by a calculation taken upon enamelled table-services only. The averages upon which I calculated the different per cents. were most minutely and laboriously taken; they cost me several days' very close attention, for besides comparing the prices with the weights of the various articles, I had likewise to calculate as nearly as I could, in what proportion to each other the respective articles were likely to be sent to the French market; namely, how many crates of table plates would be necessary to assort one crate of turcens, sauce-bowls, &c., how many dishes to the same; what proportions the tea and coffee ware, mugs, basins, &c., would bear to the table ware exported; and then to average the whole both in weight and prices, which I believe is done as near the truth as such an average is capable of. Indeed, I had no idea of the task I was undertaking, when I first began upon it.

That our manufacture may now, in the present situation of the English and French, bear such a duty, may be true to a certain degree; but how long has that been the case? It is within my memory that the earthenwares of France were superior to ours; the revolution, therefore, has been sudden, and its

effects may be temporary; the same circumstances, whatever they have been, that turned the scale in our favour in this age, may, in the next, vary as much in favour of France.

I will not trouble you further at present, for really it grieves me to add a single atom to your cares, only to beg the favour of your good offices with Mrs. Eden, to prevail upon her to accept a set of jasper tea ware, polished within in the manner in which agate and other stones are polished; a new improvement, and ornamented differently from any I have made before. This is a first set, and it cannot be placed so much to my satisfaction with any other person. They were packed in my new method, and sent from hence last week, with directions to Mr. Byerly to forward them to you.

When you receive the case of ornaments mentioned in my last, you will oblige me by distributing any number of them you please in presents to your friends, letting me know, that I may fill up their places again with the same or new ones.

Mrs. Wedgwood begs to unite with me in respectful compliments to Mrs. Eden and yourself.

I have the honour to be, with the sincerest respect and gratitude,

Dear Sir,

Your much obliged and most obedient humble servant,

JOS. WEDGWOOD.

Mr. Eden had been some time expecting instructions; at last the long-expected messenger arrived, but all he brought was a curious private letter from Lord Carmarthen.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, June 30th, 1786.

Dear Sir,—The last time I troubled you with a line I thought it necessary to send a dispatch *pro formâ*. I now shall confine myself to a mere private letter, for the sole purpose of telling you *we are alive*

and awake, of one or both which you might else have entertained some doubts.

The session is, thank Heaven, within a few days of its conclusion, and I trust your further instructions will speedily follow, if not precede, our Parliament breaking up.

The coffee-house politicians here are already in possession of a Commercial Treaty, signed by yourself and M. de Vergennes, and inserted in most of the newspapers. I do not think it quite improbable that some of my wise flock of Foreign ministers may have cut it out of the papers and sent it to their Courts, in order to claim the merit of the earliest as well as most authentic intelligence.

An Italian minister formerly used to translate a couple of columns of one of the newspapers, for the information of his sovereign, and usher in the contents of his dispatch with a *Ho penetrato*,—which conduct was fully approved of, and procured the penetrating minister the charge afterwards (if I mistake not) of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on his return to his enlightened and not less grateful Court.

M. d'Adhémar * has probably some object in view which will not admit of delay; at least it appears probable, as he set off on Wednesday last, after taking leave of His Majesty, and without staying for paying a similar compliment to the Queen, who had a drawing-room the next day.

Cagliostro is in London, but does not propose staying above two or three hundred years, unless he finds a house more agreeable than his present habitation, which I do not find he has taken for more than ninety-nine years; I have not seen him yet, by which I fancy he must have mislaid the letters (if he had any for me) from my relation, Philippe de Valois, who died in August, 1350.

Believe me, dear Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
CARMARTHEN.

* M. d'Adhémar was the French Ambassador.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Hôtel d'Elbœuf, Paris,

(Private and secret.) July 6th, 1786.

My dear Lord,—I am very sensible of your Lordship's kindness in finding time to enliven my negotiation by so amusing a private letter as that which I received from you by the last courier; I hope, however, that it will very speedily be followed by your official commands. Mons. de Vergennes cross-examined me on Tuesday last about the delay, but he did it without peevishness, and I thought it best to treat the business as in fact completed, except as to subordinate points of detail, in which idea he seemed to take great pleasure, and laughed heartily at the astonishment which he said we should see in the Corps Diplomatique, whenever the Déclaration and Contre-déclaration are published. It was supposed here that they would be communicated to Parliament, or at all events that they would be published. I desired, however, that they might be kept till your Lordship's sentiments respecting them should be known. M. de Vergennes remarked to me that His Most Christian Majesty's Ministers could not be supposed to have taken so decided a step, except on a settled system of peace and commerce, and he professed to consider it as a very great transaction; still, however, I am looking every hour for the final instructions.

I happened in conversation with M. de Rayneval to mention the circumstance of M. d'Adhémar leaving London on the morning of Her Majesty's drawing-room. I had mentioned it with a laugh and as a remark of no importance, but M. de Rayneval took it very seriously. He promised me not to state it, because I desired him not to make me the occasion of hurting the interests of a good sort of man in a bad state of health; but he said that if it should transpire through our newspapers, or in any other way, it would be seriously resented here, M. d'Adhémar having been merely indulged with permission to go

for his health and ease à Bourbon, and being grossly inconsiderate in availing himself of that indulgence, so as to be deficient in the respect which he owed to Her Majesty, and also to give occasion for idle rumours, which at other times might be mischievously applied to bad purposes. I was at Madame de Polignac's on Monday evening, but M. d'Adhémar was not yet heard of. The Queen was there, but in hourly expectation of finding herself ill.

Your Lordship will easily conceive that His Most Christian Majesty's journey has furnished much matter for conversation. He was greatly pleased with the behaviour of some English cutters, the crews of which gave the first hurrah. When he was upon the sea, somebody observed that the wind was changing, and might blow him to England. He professed to be greatly pleased with the probability, and made it a matter of discussion as to the good treatment which he would receive everywhere, upon such an occasion of showing hospitality. He was not sea-sick, as was reported, but M. de la Fayette* was courtier enough to be very sick.

I am, my dear Lord,
Most respectfully and sincerely yours,
W. Eden.

Mr. Eden to Mr. George Rose.

(Private.) Hôtel d'Elbœuf, Paris, July 9th.

My dear Sir,—I was confoundedly disappointed yesterday morning, when the messenger announced as coming from England, delivered to me a private letter, without one syllable either official or private respecting my eternal Treaty. I begin to foresee that I shall pass the winter in this place, and I am sorry for it in every point of view; but if that must be the case, I must at least be kept on good terms with the Ministers at Versailles. By great attentions on my

* General Lafayette.

part, by an honourable disposition on theirs, and by the cordial assistance of the Duke of Dorset, I am thus far as well in that quarter as I can desire, and might have it in my power to be of infinite service in the various discussions which arise between the two countries; but I already begin to approach them with the cold manner and guarded expression of a man who feels himself neglected at home; and unless I am assisted with great punctuality in the further progress of my negotiation, and with confidences as to other points which may arise between the two countries, the best line that I can take will be to submit myself to circumstances, and to confine myself to my hotel, till my business is either made or marred by those who have the management of it.

This is not the language of complaint, but a most confidential communication to you of what I fairly feel, and have for some time felt; and I always foresaw it, and partly foretold it to our friend*, on whom alone I have reliance, and I still am in hourly expectation that his energy and judgment will assist me effectually. I have repeatedly stated my own opinions upon the mode to be pursued, and on full deliberation I adhere to those opinions, but I have always expressed my wish, at least to be authorised to pursue the opinions of others, if they are thought more expedient. It is a subject on which I dread nothing so much as procrastination — what can I say more?

The measure relative to the Sinking Fund has made a deep impression of respect towards Mr. Pitt in this country among the people who advert to such subjects, and who are much more numerous than are generally supposed. People are very apt to form their estimations upon the single circle of society in which they happen to find themselves, without considering that there are probably 500 such circles in Paris and Versailles. They are here far from having yet any possible surplus of revenue. I hope that

* Mr. Pitt.

there will be neither difficulty nor danger as to ours, but I should be glad to learn from you occasionally that the revenue continues productive. You will find on inquiry that the suspense of all these commercial negotiations is very unfavourable to your treasury.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Most sincerely yours,
W. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Hôtel d'Elbœuf, Paris,
(Private.) July 13th, 1786.

My dear Lord,—As I continue without further instructions, I do not address any official dispatch to you by this courier, but I beg leave to repeat that I am exceedingly anxious to receive His Majesty's further commands.

There was a circumstance attending the French Ambassador's audience on the 28th June, which seems to make an odd impression upon the French Ministers. M. d'Adhémar reports that His Majesty talked in general terms of cordiality and friendship towards His Most Christian Majesty, but when mention was made of the late Déclaration and Contre-déclaration, as going a considerable length towards the purposes in His Majesty's view, His Majesty seemed to intimate that there had not been any such transaction submitted to him. When M. d'Adhémar repeated this circumstance to your Lordship, as thinking himself mistaken, your Lordship preserved the same silence, with an appearance of mystery. I state the fact as it was stated to me in confidence with the best intention, and, of course, treated the whole as an unaccountable misapprehension upon the part of M. d'Adhémar. The French Ministers having supposed that the Déclaration and Contre-déclaration would be communicated to Parliament, and finding the whole without notice or effect of any kind, after an interval of a month,

have coupled these circumstances with M. d'Adhémar's report.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect, my dear Lord,

Most faithfully yours,
W. EDEN.

The following letter is from the Duke of Dorset, who had proceeded to England on private business.

The Duke of Dorset to Mr. Eden.

London, July 13th, 1786.

Dear Eden,—I have had some conversation with Jenkinson (now Lord Hawkesbury) respecting your business, and I have said everything imaginable to make him push it forward as much as possible, which he has promised me to do. You will hear from them in the course of next week, soon after Tuesday, and I hope in a manner quite satisfactory to you. The whole is now in Jenkinson's hands, and he is determined to see whether the French are as much in earnest as I am convinced they are. Don't take any notice to Jenkinson that I have written to you. There is no particular news to-day. Lord Thurlow is much better: he walked down in his frock yesterday to Westminster, to qualify for the Tellership. The Hanaper does not become vacant; there is yet another life, which I believe is Lady Bridget's.* The Prince of Wales is gone to Brighthelmstone for the summer. He means to go into Germany next winter; his discarded household look quite in the dumps, and well they may, *car ils n'ont pas de quoi manger.* Some changes are talked of, but I know of none. Jenkinson will most likely have some Cabinet place, but nothing is yet decided. He will be a great acquisition to the Chancellor in the House of Lords. No news

* Lady Bridget Tollemache, a daughter of the first Earl of Northington and widow of the Hon. George Tollemache, who was killed in a duel at New York by Lord Muncaster.

of the Garter. I think they use me very ill, and so think all my friends. My patience will not hold out much longer, though I am not inclined in my nature to be restive.

Adieu. I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Eden.

Believe me most sincerely yours,

DORSET.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

Hôtel d'Elbœuf, Paris,

(Private.) July 13th, 1786.

My dear Sir,—I have been much tempted to despatch a messenger to you, to say on the 15th July, that all your letters subsequent to the 10th June, by the five or six couriers who have since arrived from England, have severally miscarried. As you mentioned in that letter that you should now have leisure to give unremitting attention and dispatch to my business, I might reasonably suppose that our correspondence is somehow and somewhere intercepted. Seriously, your silence has given me much uneasiness, and has subjected me to many embarrassments, with which I will not now trouble you, unless I quit the system which I had adopted with great pains and success. I cannot go to Versailles less than two or three times a week, and you may conceive how distressing it is to me to be obliged to say as often, "*Je n'ai rien encore de ma cour; mais je crois toujours*," &c. But I think it probable all this time that you are fully occupied by some business quite distinct from any with which I am concerned; and I am sure that neither your personal temper nor your public feelings would suffer you to leave me in this state of suspense, if you had had it in your power to do otherwise.

Some of my correspondents in England, and some agents of different manufacturers who are here, inform me that Mr. Jenkinson is not inattentive to the negotiation, and that he is completing, with great nicety of speculation, a comparative scale of the ad-

vantages to be obtained by each country upon their being placed on the proposed footing. I should be sorry to think that he was not laughing at them, or at least that he was maintaining a very justifiable reserve in his language; for if the further particulars which they mentioned were *bonâ fide* his opinions, I see no hope of concluding any treaty here which can have in any degree the concurrence of your Board of Trade. And yet at this hour, I could sign articles, which, to the best of my own judgment, would contain all that we can desire or ought to seek. All my mornings are unavoidably passed in discussions of the subject; for the people of Birmingham, Kidderminster, Glasgow, Bordeaux, and the French merchants who have dealings with England, are every morning in my antechamber before my breakfast is finished, under the pretext of asking advice or offering information, but to learn, if possible, whether I am going to Versailles, and whether the Treaty will take place. Every idea that I collect from them concurs to prove to me, that it will be of infinite advantage to us to open the ports immediately upon the footing of the most favoured nations. The orders to many of them upon the contingency of such an event, are already very great. And the advantage of being able to expose English manufactures for sale in every part of France, without their being subject to seizure, (which they are at present, and which is to be put in force next month,) would have a great effect both in the consumption here and in the extension of our sales to foreign markets. In the mean time, though we continue to have a considerable introduction of such goods as can be brought in small parcels, it is done at a great expense by bribes to the guards at the barriers, by passengers, and by his Majesty's weekly messengers. The last-mentioned mode is now the most practised, and in articles of high price goes to great extent. The parcels are brought ashore at Calais and at Boulogne, by passengers and by sailors concealed about their persons; the

messengers travel in chaises of their own (for the purpose), and pass the barriers upon the credit of their passports. The people here who use this plan, have in confidence stated to me all the circumstances and all the premiums, and it goes sometimes to the extent of 150 parcels. In return they send linen gauzes and lacè blondes, &c., nearly in the same way to Dover, and thence by the French messenger and English travellers. The Ministers are not ignorant of this course, for it was first mentioned to me by a friend of M. de Rayneval's, and they can at any time prevent it without any reasonable offence to us, but they choose for the moment to connive at it, though the gentleman who mentioned it to me first, added that it was growing too great to be tolerated.

I have always feared that the delay would lessen our advantages, or at least create some unpleasant discussions. And I now find that several of the French manufacturers, upon the expectation that England will be on the footing of the most favoured nation, are applying for general prohibitions in favour of their particular manufactures.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Private.)

I do not know what have been Mr. Jenkinson's sentiments on all this business, but I will trouble you with the copy of a paragraph which I lately received from him, and of my answer by this courier:—

"I am sorry that your business does not go on so fast as you wish. I think, however, it is wise to go on with a reasonable degree of caution: the system to be adopted is new, and there is none to which the Opposition are so likely to point their objections, if we should commit the least error."

Answer.—"I agree with you that it is peculiarly desirous to avoid any error; and for this reason I feel solicitous to proceed no further immediately than is stated in the Déclaration and Contre-déclaration, leav-

ing the arrangement of specific articles to a mature discussion, and subsequent clauses to be annexed to the Treaty; in doing this we neither commit nor risk any error. If we go further at first, I foresee many difficulties and uncertainties; and if we postpone going so far, we not only hazard the whole, but postpone advantages to our trade much more than I should choose to state to our merchants. Droits d'entrée here are collected in such a way, that if the prohibitions were removed, our people would feel few difficulties, and the French ports will also give them access to all the ports in the world."

I am, my dear Sir,
Respectfully and most sincerely yours,
W. EDEN.

The long-expected instructions* drawn up by Mr. Jenkinson were at last transmitted to Mr. Eden.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, July 21st, 1786.

My dear Sir,—I hope the instructions which were despatched last Wednesday will have relieved you from the embarrassments which you have felt. I do not trouble you particularly on the subject of them, because they are so fully drawn as to leave nothing for me to add, at least nothing that I am aware of at present, though this mode of comprising all in our Treaty is not what you most approve. I trust you will find that at least all essential points are as easily adjusted in this way. I shall, however, be anxious to learn what passes, and what you think upon it, and have only to beg that you will write to me fully whatever occurs to you. You are, I assure you, much mistaken if you imagine that anything you can write on that subject is too much. I rejoice not a little in the account contained in one of your letters on the

* These voluminous instructions will be found in the Appendix.

French finance. I hope you will find leisure to let me know all that is to be known on that subject.

I am, dear Sir,

Most sincerely yours,

W. PITT.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Private.) Hôtel d'Elbœuf, July 25th, 1786.

My dear Sir,—I will tell you with the utmost frankness what I think of my new instructions. The whole paper is drawn out with great neatness and apparent knowledge of the subject, but varies so much from the principles of all the preceding parts of the negotiation, that my heart sunk desperately from the first perusal. Upon the second, I thought it not unreasonable nor unwise that you should make an effort of this kind to gain as much as possible on every point, and that you should have it in your power to say that such points as may be lost were at least not neglected: — some must be lost, for it is absurd to suppose that we can carry every point when we give none in return. Upon the third perusal, I began to think that there were materials to prove a very good and plausible paper. I feel no scruple in thinking it a very forcible statement, and M. de Rayneval also thought it so. I go to-day to Versailles to ascertain that the French Ministers are of the same opinion. I continue on very good terms in that quarter, and am sure that at this moment they will, on my recommendation, do anything that is in any degree reasonable. I entreat you first to excuse little impatiences that will arise when those who are employed at a distance will often seem to themselves to write more than their employers seem to read. I entreat you next to drive this business forwards without any avoidable delay, not merely for the sake of the public, which is greatly interested in it, but for your own sake, though I am bound to believe that the result will do solid and eternal honour to you; but, for my sake also, for I

feel no ambition to pass two or three years of my life here, more especially on appointments which I cannot desire to be, and on which I cannot maintain the appearance which I think right.

Have the goodness, also, to send me answers on the other political questions with this Court, which, at this moment, is certainly sincere.

I am, dear Sir,
Respectfully and sincerely yours,
W. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

Hôtel d'Elbœuf, July 27th, 1786.

My dear Sir,—

"Nil actum reputans, si quid superesset agendum,"*

is a phrase which incessantly haunts me whilst this same Treaty remains unfinished, and, therefore, as soon as I had despatched the message on Tuesday, I went to Versailles, and had the satisfaction of finding that the conference with M. de Vergennes and the Comptroller-General upon the paper entitled "Réplique," &c., had taken place the preceding evening, in great detail, in the presence of M. de Rayneval, and with a very steady and earnest disposition to gratify us as far as circumstances can admit. M. de Rayneval meant to occupy himself yesterday and to-day in preparing the further answer to us, and I think it probable he will communicate with me before it finally passes. My speculation is to obtain the admission of Hardware upon duties not exceeding 10 per cent., the revocation of the prohibitions of the cottons, and their admission upon duties which our people will say are too high, but an admission which, at any rate, will be profitable to us; and, with respect to the woollens, if they would admit them upon double the duties proposed by Mr. Everitt, 2*s.* for all above

* Nil actum credens, quum quid superesset agendum. — Lucan's Pharsalia, lib. ii. l. 657.

12*s.* per yard, it will be as much as I have any hopes of attaining. There certainly is a very cordial and fair wish among those who conduct the business to do every thing that can properly be done to favour us; but I should think it neither honourable nor wise if I were to suggest or urge more than I believe they can do without risk to their own characters and situations. I will write further on this point when I receive the expected answer.

I send by this courier the remaining articles. I hope that they will immediately be referred to the Board of Trade, and that you will have the goodness to bring them forward there immediately. The perusal, examination, corrections, and approbation may all easily be completed in two mornings, and indeed in one, if either you or Lord Hawkesbury would take the trouble previously to read the articles. It seems to be beyond a doubt that we ought to retain all those which are compatible with the other parts of the Treaty and with our existing laws: they are all favourable to our merchants, and it would not be prudent to attempt to change the expressions merely because they might be more neatly expressed. If anything should occur, however, by way of improvement, I do not believe that I shall find difficulty here in inserting it. I shall be glad to have this part of the business sent to me as soon as it is completed.

M. de Rayneval again mentioned to me the East India business, and said that his Court would readily enter into discussion with me for a Convention, separate, to regulate the East India trade. I think we might make it a very important work as connected with the remittance of the revenues, peace of India, &c.; and, by some small changes of mode, perhaps it would be practicable to do something at least as eligible as Perier's late treaty, which failed. I do not wish, however, to say much about it till I hear from you, and, therefore, I avoided on Tuesday seeing M. de Vergennes in private. If the answer to

the Réplique is as nearly satisfactory as I expect it to be, I submit to you that it would be right to suppose the European business completed, and to treat what remains as mere form, which you may enable me to finish in a fortnight, and, in the mean time, for Lord Carmarthen to write me a formal and ostensible letter upon the East India Commerce. I have laid the foundation of such a letter in my dispatch. But, at all events, it is material to me to know very soon what you wish, for I have pursued the practice here of telling the French Ministers, without managements and with sincerity, what I think right to be done, and, in return, I have felt some right to the particular confidence which they place in me. It is awkward to me, therefore, to be obliged to preserve silence on so great a point, which they have so often mentioned.

I was occupied a great part of yesterday morning in stating for the Comptroller-General, M. de Vergennes, a detailed explanation of the meaning of "Countervailing Duties and Drawbacks," and it is not so easy a business to be done in French as you may perhaps imagine. I took my instances in the beer trade (which, by the bye, will be opened to us) and in the silk trade, with respect to which there would perhaps be a disposition to opening the commerce with us in the articles silk stockings and ribbons, upon a reciprocal duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, with a right on our own part to add on the importation, to deduct on the exportation the equivalent to the duty paid per weight on the raw silk, which, I believe, is about four shillings per pound. I believe this would be advantageous to us, but these are not matters worth postponing the conclusion of the Treaty for a single day, as they may be equally (and perhaps better) effectuated afterwards. M. de Rayneval told me in confidence that it was supposed we would have desired better terms for the leather trade, sellerie, harnois, &c. Their duty will be high enough, but, as the sale of

such articles is chiefly to the opulent, I do not know that the duty is very material to be disputed so far as 5 or 10 per cent. are in question. There are great plans going forwards here for settling warehouses at Bordeaux, Marseilles, &c., to supply English goods to all the world. I think it right to throw cold water on the zeal of some individuals who are very alert in such speculations.

If you are not interrupted by other matters in England, you might enable me to complete all this business before the end of August.

Mr. Bathurst had dined with a very large party of his countrymen on Monday last, at my house, before I received your letter. I have since informed him of your anxiety that I should show every attention to him.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Respectfully and sincerely yours,
W. EDEN.

The following is an extract from Mr. Eden's Memoirs respecting the Queen and the Duchess of Polignac who are mentioned in the following letter:—

"At this period the Queen appeared to possess all the happiness and cheerfulness of private life, together with all the splendour and magnificence of Royalty, and to have no foresight of the calamities which were coming towards her.

"The evening assemblies at Madame de Polignac's were subjects of greater animadversion than all the extravagance of the Court. Such meetings are naturally exposed to the censure and ill humour of many who are not present, and of some who are, but who may not think themselves noticed. They are also open to the suspicion of favouritism, and the imputation of intrigue.

"The persons admitted at Madame de Polignac's were some of the principal Foreign Ministers and their Ladies, other foreigners of distinction, and a large circle of courtiers of both sexes.

"The Queen conversed, played at trictrac, or billiards, and often had a concert in which she stood as one of the singers, and sometimes a small ball at which she danced. She never entered the supper room. Perhaps, however, the general style of the meeting, though innocent in itself, was not suited to all the circumstances and considerations of the case."

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

(Private.)

Her Most Christian Majesty, at Madame de Polignac's, on Tuesday, in a conversation respecting the circumstance of the late attempt at St. James's on His Majesty's person*, was led to mention the peculiar and affectionate manner in which His Most Christian Majesty was shocked by the news when it was first mentioned to him. And she added in very becoming terms, that, on such an occasion, she felt most for the Queen.

I ought perhaps to mention, as it is in some degree connected with my public situation here, and with the attention shown towards it, that though Mrs. Eden (not being an ambassadress) cannot regularly go to Court, Her Most Christian Majesty has been pleased to honour her with very particular marks of favour and attention, of which we cannot express too deep a sense. During the great Procession of the Court on Tuesday last (*le jour de l'Assomption*), Mrs. Eden had the honour of standing in the balcony with Her Most Christian Majesty and the Archduchess; and yesterday she received a present of carpeting † of very considerable value, accompanied with the most obliging expressions.

* The attempt on the King's life by Margaret Nicholson.

† This present roused the ire of Lord George Gordon, who was violent against the Treaty.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

(Private.) Paris, Thursday, 17th Aug., 3 o'clock.

My dear Lord,—Your dispatch of Monday last was delivered to me by Rowarth this morning at eight o'clock, since which I have had at Versailles conferences of three hours upon the various instructions contained in it. I cannot attempt to write the result by the ordinary courier, this being the hour of his departure, but I hope to re-dispatch Rowarth to-morrow night: he will probably arrive in London early on Monday morning. "L'exclusion des chiffons nous chiffonne beaucoup." I trust, nevertheless, that my dispatch to-morrow will place the whole business in a form which must be acceptable to His Majesty and his Ministers, and I beg leave to mention, "*d'avance*," that it may be of consequence *essential* to my success to receive the answer on Friday the 15th if possible, but not later than the Saturday morning the 16th. Your Lordship will see this more particularly when you receive my letters.

In the meantime I cannot give a stronger proof of my own conviction that dispatch is become necessary, than by informing your Lordship that though four of my children have been confined all this week to their bed by a scarlet fever, and though my eldest daughter has been very dangerously ill, I have thought it a public duty to repress my personal feelings as much as possible, and to go both yesterday and to-day to Versailles.

I am, my dear Lord, &c.

W. Eden.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, August 20, 1786.

My dear Sir,—Every exertion has been used to dispatch the instructions you will now receive, and to make them in every respect as conciliatory as possible.

The concessions we have brought ourselves to make on the great articles of wine and brandy, are what we had given France no reason to expect. They ought to be felt as strong proofs of our earnest disposition to do all that we possibly can on our side; and will, I trust, go far to remove any difficulty on any other point.—On the linens we could not concede farther, without risking a dissatisfaction that might seriously affect the success of the whole measure.

On the whole, I look upon the great work as everything but completed, and I see it with more satisfaction than I can express. It will, in my opinion, be in every respect desirable that the idea which you mentioned of this Treaty, being signed by M. de Vergennes, should take place; and I rejoice that it has occurred to him.

You shall hear from me again very soon, particularly on the Indian business. Too much caution cannot be used on that subject in the meantime, as the delicacy of it is, I think, increased by the last advices, from which I am apprehensive that the Government in India has, in some points, conceded too far. I much wish this object may be happily adjusted while you stay in France; but I trust, neither that, nor any other point, will very long protract your return;—though of that I think you can better judge than I can.

I am, my dear Sir,

Most sincerely yours,

W. PITT.

P.S.—In the points left to your discretion, let me add a firm persuasion that you will yield nothing unnecessarily, and at the same time the fullest assurance, that where you find it really essential for the great object, you may rely on the most complete concurrence and approbation here. For fear of accidents, it would be as well if, after securing every point, you should find it practicable to delay for a day or two

the formal transmisson of the articles, but this should on no account be thought of unless you see everything safe; and we shall be impatient in the mean time to be assured that no difficulty arose.

In the following letter the virtual conclusion of the Treaty is announced. M. de Calonne was naturally very angry at the exclusion of the chief manufacture of France: —

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Private.) Paris, Wednesday Evening, 10 P.M. Aug. 23.

My dear Sir, — Your messenger arrived early this morning; and after studying the dispatches in my bed, I breakfasted and went to Versailles. I was led to do this without delay, because I could not keep them many hours in my possession without writing, and because I find it inconvenient to write upon a subject where there were so many discretionary points.

M. de Rayneval had been here with me on Monday, and in consequence of Lord Carmarthen's first letter, I had prepared him in some measure for a favourable result. I found him as I have uniformly done, quite unreserved and cordial in his manner, and to the best of my belief perfectly fair in his intentions. I am too late, and also too much tired to plague you with all particulars at present. I found it necessary to open all the concessions which I am empowered to make, in the course of stating all the alterations which I am desired to require. I hope that I shall settle all the points in the manner you wish, except only, though I do not expect, any further reduction of the duty on hardware; it will not be my fault if I fail in it, for I urged it this morning, at least as far as was decent or safe.

I am firmly convinced that the proposed duty will give us a full access to the French markets, and will be thought so low here as to be the subject of much outcry. M. de Rayneval informed me in confidence

that the people most zealous for low duties, all concurred in stating the necessity of fifteen per cent. on this article, and twenty per cent. on the cotton (and some went so far as thirty per cent.). M. de Vergennes was of opinion for fifteen per cent., and M. de Calonne, after much dispute, by the aid of a paper in which I had urged for five per cent., split the difference, and carried it for ten (but with great doubts).

As to pottery and fayence, I shall obtain either ten or fifteen per cent. As for beer and cyder, probably a duty of one-third above the internal duty here. As to the saddlery, I hope about fifteen per cent., but there is a great internal duty which creates some puzzle. The reservation as to Portugal sticks next in our throats, but I hope we shall swallow it. I will state a few other particulars in my dispatch to Lord Carmarthen.

I also had a long conference with M. de Vergennes and the Comptroller-General* in the apartment of the former: nothing can be kinder or more conciliatory than their manner and language towards me. M. de Vergennes expressed his satisfaction in warm terms at the appearance of a satisfactory conclusion, and took occasion in the course of business to tell me that by Col. Cathcart, he had received a copy of the "Record fait à l'Isle Maurice," † which he had not had time to open, and it was singular that the Comptroller-General appeared not before to have heard one word upon the subject of the late disagreements between the French Settlements and our Indian Government.

The Comptroller-General lamented rather warmly, and in a sort of speech, that you would not find it practicable to open the silk trade. M. de Vergennes informed him that there are "trente mille polissons dans la ville de Londres qui ont une voix sur ce chapitre;" to which he answered that there were above double

* M. de Calonne.

† There had been a Convention signed at the Mauritius between M. de Souillac and Col. Cathcart, respecting the East Indies.

that number at Lyons, who would execrate him for admitting all the numerous manufactures of England, by the same instrument which will exclude the only well-established manufacture of France.

He ended, however, pleasantly and with good humour:—"I shall occupy myself to-morrow in putting the whole business into shape, and shall then transmit it to M. de Rayneval, who thinks it material to prefix a preamble; but as I shall see the whole before it goes to the Council, I hope nothing embarrassing will be anticipated."

To-morrow morning I go to Versailles, and we shall probably not return till Tuesday. If nothing happens to prevent it, you will probably have a messenger from me on Wednesday, or in the next week. And unless I should fail in matters of essential importance, or omit some matter which cannot safely be postponed, I shall entreat you to return the instrument immediately with instructions to sign it. I lament that I have not provisional instructions in my possession for that purpose; but if there is no casualty in the interval, the mode of proceeding adopted is certainly the most becoming.

I wish you would send an order for the remaining articles from the Attorney-General and the Advocate-General to be returned instanter. It may be necessary here to have a Sunday's council for their insertion also, and the delays are really more dangerous than I can make intelligible in a letter.

If this business takes the turn which seems probable, I may hope, perhaps, to return to England about the end of October. If I stay much later the weather will be too severe for my family to travel, and yet it is but too probable that many subsequent points will arise to be detailed and explained.

I am, my dear Sir,
Very respectfully and sincerely yours,
WM. EDEN.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Whitehall, August 25, 1786.

Dear Sir,—I have many thanks to return you for your very obliging private letter of the 17th. The manner in which M. de Vergennes professes himself disposed to discuss the Indian Question is certainly fair and candid; how far the grants from the Mogul to the old French India Company can be proved, and when proved, apply to the present subjects of dispute, will appear whenever the matter comes to be fairly investigated.

I am extremely pleased with the account you mention of the Queen of France's gracious attention and politeness to Mrs. Eden, and hope that neither of you will meet with anything that is not perfectly friendly (*sur le tapis*) during your stay in France.

We had the most favourable answers to-day at the Committee, from Messrs. Bowles the glass manufacturers. They were clearly of opinion that a duty of from ten to fifteen per cent., in addition to the compensating duty, would prove perfectly secure and satisfactory with respect to crown glass; as to plate glass they could not give us the information we wanted.

Quant aux rubans, nous ne brillons pas de ce côté là. A shorter and more direct negative was never given than by a meeting of those concerned in the riband manufactory, to the general question of opening the trade of that manufacture. Anything short of absolute prohibition seems, in the eyes of these gentlemen, to involve *them*, and of course *the country*, in immediate ruin and destruction. So much for Spitalfields, for the two gentlemen (Wilson and Venning if I remember right) who were previously examined appeared infinitely more reasonable (though not very sanguine in their expectations of a beneficial intercourse in that article) before they had consulted their *commettans*.

I have just received an account of the King* of

* Frederick the Great.

Prussia's death. The loss of anything great, whether good or bad, naturally occasions a degree of temporary anxiety and suspense as to the effects likely to be produced by it. What is his successor to be in the opinion of the French? They, of course, have formed an opinion, and perhaps already propagated fifty. If any immediate effect is likely to take place, Holland will probably afford the first specimen of the King's political capacity.

Believe me, dear Sir,
Your very faithful and obedient servant,
CARMARTHEN.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, Sept. 4.

My dear Sir,—We have been working hard to expedite your dispatch, and I have scarce a moment left for a private letter. In the main, I trust you will find everything satisfactory, and I doubt not you will be able to reconcile the French Court on the two or three points on which *we cannot give way*. The ribands and modes are of this description, and the rate of duty on the linens *cannot* be lowered beyond our former offer. In the glass, I hope and believe we shall be able to comply. The interval necessary before the reduction of the wine duty should take place will be very speedily ascertained: both these particulars shall be sent to you by another messenger, who will probably reach you before all the points in the present dispatch are exhausted; and you shall have at the same time an account about the *British-made Wines*. In the meantime, it is enough to say that the duty on them was raised last Session, and is much higher in proportion to foreign wine than formerly. I will not enter farther at present on the subject of my former private letter, except only to repeat my sincere desire at all times to keep in view whatever you feel material either for your credit or satisfaction in any arrangements that

may be in question. On the other points I will write again very speedily. I foresee that at all events it will be impossible for your presence here not to be very material when the Treaty comes to be discussed in Parliament. I write, as you see, in the utmost haste.

Believe me always, my dear Sir,
Very sincerely yours,
W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, Sept. 12, 1786.

My dear Sir,—Your dispatches reached me this morning in the country. I allow fully for your impatience, which is natural, and arises from considerations which I feel in common with you;—but I wish to remove one impression. We never thought of confining you so closely as you seem to imagine to the amended draught of the articles, but coupled them with the instructions, pursuant to which I think you would have been warranted, if you had signed the Treaty in the shape last transmitted to us, with the exception only of the addition at the end of the first article, which is too dangerous to be admitted, at least in its present extent. I persuade myself nothing can now prevent or retard the happy completion of the business.

The new idea of fifteen per cent. in general, or on the essential article of cottons, cannot be listened to, and I hope will not be proposed, though pressing it would in fact be breaking off the Treaty.—Silk gauzes are, for very good reasons, too important to us to be given up. The glass which we now give (a little adventurously, as you see by the enclosed evidence) will, I hope, assist you in carrying this point.

The liberty to import *into all ports*, or at least into most of them, is really necessary to the objects of the Treaty. And lastly, the reduction we again ask on

the heavy articles of iron, seems so well justified by the state of the present duties from other countries, that the French can hardly refuse some satisfaction on that head. But this last point, though very material, should not be made a *sine quâ non.*

You may venture to assure M. de Rayneval, that we are in earnest endeavouring to make it practicable to reduce the duty on brandy a good deal below the specified rate, though it is quite impossible yet to speak positively, as you know the interests we have to deal with. We are also making good progress in the idea of classing the duties on linens, so as to put every other country on as favourable terms as Germany in the same species.

I am more and more satisfied every hour with every part of this business, but still I cannot flatter myself that it is to be all triumph here without any discontent or opposition; and I am persuaded your presence here will be materially beneficial, both with a view to satisfying many of the manufacturers, and also when the point comes before Parliament.

I should be particularly glad if you would come over, if it were only for a week, soon after the signature of these articles. That time might be usefully spent for the business itself,—and I should be glad of the opportunity of talking on many other points on which I would rather talk than write. Among them is the suggestion of your having the appointment of Ambassador to ratify the Treaty. There may be some difficulty in it, but if you wish it upon the whole, I shall be much inclined to settle it so. At all events, it will certainly come best after the preliminaries are known to be signed.

I am truly concerned that the unfortunate incident mentioned in your letter to Lord Carmarthen should have added domestic anxiety to your other fatigues. Believe me, my dear Sir,

Most sincerely yours,
W. PITT.

The Treaty was signed on September the 26th.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, Tuesday, Oct. 3, 1786.

My dear Sir,—I am impatient to congratulate you most cordially on the important event of the signature of the Treaty which your secretary brought last night. It ought to give the most general satisfaction, and though I conclude some particular interests will not be contented, the effects of the measure will, I trust, long be felt, not only on the industry of both countries, but on their mutual temper and disposition to each other. I am much struck with the proceeding of M. de Vergennes and the French Government in this whole transaction, and particularly with the fairness, assiduity, and knowledge of M. de Rayneval. Lord Carmarthen's dispatches will state to you some few points unavoidable in a business of such extent, which must be set right, but which, I flatter myself, are really without difficulty.

I am pressed for time, but I cannot end my letter without adding how impatient I shall be to submit to the King a proper mode of acknowledging your unremitting services on this most important occasion.

I am, with great truth and regard,
Dear Sir,
Yours most sincerely,
W. Pitt.

The following letter is from Lord Sheffield, who had installed himself as chief adviser of Mr. Eden, and was very much surprised that, in spite of all his prophecies to the contrary, such a favourable result was arrived at.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Sheffield Place, Oct. 4, 1786.

It may be extravagant to give an opinion on forty-seven articles, a very small part of which are known

to me, and I must not pretend to say anything conclusive; but with you I am not apt to be on my guard, and although I may hereafter find something to abuse, as far as I can judge from the part, I know the Treaty seems very much of the same kind as the American and the Irish, viz. the reciprocity is all on one side, for I have not discovered, since I received your letter this morning, a single advantage the French have gained. Observe, however, that I only know extracts from two articles, viz. 6th and 7th. You say they contain the material points respecting the duties and general principle of the business. I should be most afraid the French would quarrel with them when they find our manufactures filling their warehouses. I hear they consider the Treaty as an experiment for two years, and are much pleased with it. If it is all of a piece with the articles you have communicated, the French, for once at least, are taken in, and exhibit themselves very ignorant and foolish.

I could write an excellent pamphlet on the French side of the question against the Treaty. On the first blush of the business I almost wish the advantages were more equal. You say France will be advantaged on the article cambrics — positive nonsense; and I think I convinced some of the Glasgow people that the importation of cambric will not be considerably increased. France already had the supply of this country for the cambrics she is likely to supply. I gave you some notes on that subject before you went, I believe; at least I sent some to Glasgow to conciliate. In point of revenue Britain will be benefited as far as the amount of the duty on an article before prohibited. I like exceedingly the idea of calculating duties upon the premiums of smuggling, with some small addition for the superior advantage of direct trade. But the reduction of the duty on brandy from nine to seven shillings is not sufficient to prevent smuggling. A reduction, however, so low as to considerably increase the consumption in Britain, would of course affect

the rum maker and distiller. Considering the ignorance and folly of the people, and the timidity of Ministers on the article of silk, I think you may be very well content with having obtained the admission of gauze into France. Nothing can be clearer than that we can meet the French at market with several articles of silk besides the generality of ribands.

When the French were disposed to sign so *liberal* a Treaty, it is rather remarkable they should stick at mixtures of silk with cotton and woollen, for I suppose the objection arose on their part, as a very considerable part of the manufactures of Norwich and Manchester will be excluded. Finally, the Treaty appears far from a little business. Knowing your system is not to knock your head against any knot of manufacturers, and supposing the French would inform themselves better, I did not expect much—something plausible but not more. I knew the Ministers were cowardly, although their ignorance has generally given them the appearance of boldness. Your former letter promised that it should be immediately followed by another, therefore I delayed writing. Your two letters, with the extracts, arrived together this morning. Write to me again immediately. I have more to say to you, but must delay it to another post. We are very glad to hear Mrs. Eden is so well. She will not relish this island. Pray tell her I particularly rejoice in the event at Berwick.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

P.S.—I shall impatiently wait for an opportunity of finding something wrong in the rest of the Treaty. I shall be very quarrelsome if it interferes with a Spanish treaty. I think there will be at least much scepticism on the laying open of the trade between the two countries. Ten per cent. duties, *ad valorem*, to be determined by oaths, are little.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, Oct. 16th, 1786.

My dear Sir,—I have received great satisfaction in your last packet, from which we learn that the few remaining points towards the completion of our great work are settled well, or in a fair way of being so. I think I may now venture to congratulate you most fully on an issue to this business far beyond our most sanguine wishes. In the little (comparatively speaking) which yet remains to be explained, you will, I have no doubt, be as successful as you have been hitherto. To include the *buttons* especially, and the plated metal and the japanned goods, in the specification of hardware, and to explain the point of the *marque des fers* seems almost all that remains to be done.

I conclude you will have found M. de Calonne practicable as to the countervailing duty on iron—as far as relates to the duty on the raw material. It is very important to us to have these points settled well. They are not great compared with the whole, but the credit or discredit of the whole may depend much upon them.

You say nothing about coming over hither. I wish most eagerly to see you here as soon as you can make it convenient; for it will be of use, more than perhaps you imagine, in settling the details of the duties in pursuance of the Tariff; and as to the East India business (which you *must* finish before you leave Paris finally) it is impossible to send satisfactory instructions without talking to you on the subject. Private reasons would make me very anxious to have our meeting early, but otherwise a week, more or less, is not material. Parliament, it is now settled, is not to meet before Christmas. I wrote the other day in great haste, but I hope you will have understood from my letter that if the point of rank* is at all material

* The rank of Ambassador for the purpose of signing the Treaty.

to you, you may depend upon it immediately, and I beg you would have no difficulty in stating your wishes, which I shall be most happy to promote.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours sincerely,
W. PITT.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

(Private.) Fontainebleau, Oct. 18, 1786.

My dear Lord,—I now send back the Treaty* with the several alterations recommended, and with some others which were correct, and not very material improvements. I have obtained the insertion of "Iron" among the articles to be compensated; but I think that you have urged it rather as a colour, and to prevent objections, than from any intention to make actual use of it. I am sure that it will be an ill-judged measure to apply a countervailing duty to any article except the glass. The policy of applying it as to the beer may by possibility be well, but in the meantime it may safely lie. As to the "Toiles peintes et teintes," I know that it was urged by the Manchester people; but if they will have here sufficient security against the introduction of Swiss cottons, it will be an idle caution on our part, and an evasive one. I know it will be unpopular in England to say it; but I feel that the infinite advantages which must result from the Treaty by a temperate and generous conduct on our part, will all be risked and, perhaps, will be lost, by the extreme avidity of our manufacturers and our complaisance towards them. I already reproach myself seriously with having urged on the French Ministers on some of the most material articles a lower duty than is just or right; but in the meantime I was urged by England to propose duties still lower, though I suspected *then*, and know *now*, that we were deceived by some who ought not to have deceived us. This is not a business in which I feel solicitous for the applause

*The Treaty will be found in the Appendix.

and triumph of the moment. It is impossible that the Treaty can go forwards with any permanent execution, if this country is to be overwhelmed with English manufactures, and is not at the same time enabled to send wines, brandies, cambrics, linens, &c. to pay for them. The French Ministers talk on this part of the subject to my feelings with great candour and good sense, and their uneasiness is much increased by the Portuguese business.

My residence here, and my concern with negotiations, are both drawing to an end; but your Lordship's wisdom and power will be very usefully employed in putting this great machine of the French commerce into motion, without occasioning a fatal convulsion in the system, thus far auspicious, which you have so essentially contributed to establish.

I am, my dear Lord,
Most respectfully and sincerely yours,
WM. EDEN.

It will be seen by the following letter that the title of "King of France" was refused Louis XVI., George III. claiming the title.

*Mr. Eden to Mr. Fraser.**

Fontainebleau, 20th Oct. 1786.

My dear Sir,— Observing immediately previous to dispatching the Treaty to you, that there was a wrong placing of the precedence between the two sovereigns, I corrected it, as I had already agreed with M. de Rayneval; but it has since occurred to me that the expression used (as taken, I believe, from the old Treaty) is "Roi de France." I beg the favour of you to erase those words, and to insert "Le Roi Très Chrétien."

M. de Rayneval also desires you to correct a little inaccuracy in point of grammar in the second para-

* Mr. Fraser was Under Secretary of State.

graph of the 6th article. Instead of "ne paieront pas dans tous les cas," it should be "en aucun cas," and the negative "pas" should be omitted.

These minutes border on hypercriticisms, but accuracy is a good thing enough when it does not prevent the progress of real business.

I am,
Most sincerely, &c.,
WM. EDEN.

The Treaty was now ratified.

There is no doubt that it was most favourable to England. It was not merely a treaty of commerce, it was a treaty of *navigation* and commerce.

Some difficulties occurred, owing to the French Ministers trying indirectly to alter the duties*; but Mr. Eden, with his usual ability, settled all points by a supplementary convention, signed on the 15th of January, which was received with great satisfaction in England.

The following letter gives an account of a dinner at Lord Carmarthen's, which made a great sensation both at home and abroad; Mr. Pitt's Foreign Secretary having invited the leaders of the Opposition to his official dinner:—

Mr. Morton Eden to Mr. William Eden.

Bruton Street, Jan. 18th, 1787.

My dear Brother,—I send you inclosed a pamphlet which makes a great noise here at this moment, and which may amuse you whilst your hair is combing out. It is supposed to be written by Mr. Wraxall †: there are indeed one or two expressions in it which savour strongly of his speech in the House of Commons. There are many new publications for and

* The duties were generally from ten to twelve per cent. *ad valorem* on each side. French silks were excluded.

† Author of the Historical Memoirs.

against your Treaty; but as I conclude that you have given directions to have them all forwarded to you, I shall not trouble you with them. I understand that there will be a vigorous attack upon it, and that Lord Stormont means to call evidence to the bar of the House of Lords. I trust, however, that it will be found invulnerable: this is the opinion of the most sensible. I congratulate you on the happy conclusion of the Tariff; but though I ardently wish, on my own account, your return to England, yet I should be sorry to see your mission finish before our East India business be settled. I was yesterday seated at table next to Mr. Hope, of Amsterdam, who, amongst other articles of Dutch politics, mentioned the power and art of France in Holland, in diverting the Dutch from their real commercial interests, to establish in India a military power which must be at their command, and prove probably fatal to our interests in that quarter. Our company yesterday at Lord Carmarthen's was numerous. Besides the Foreign Ministers and strangers of distinction, there were Mr. Fox, Lord Stormont, Duke of Manchester, General Conway, Lord Weymouth, and Lord Macartney. Lord North sent an excuse: I met him the other day, he looks deplorably. Mr. Fox arrived very late—he had more attention shown him by the Foreign Ministers* than the master of the feast. He sat at dinner between the Duke of Lauzun, with whom he talked the whole time, and a zero. Lord Stormont sat between General Conway and a zero. The Duke of Manchester† between two zeros—he himself probably a third. Mr. Fox was, what is very uncommon with him, very well dressed.

The Bishop of Durham died yesterday; the Chancellor's brother, it is said, will certainly succeed him.

* The Foreign Ministers expected Mr. Fox's immediate return to power.

† Late Ambassador at Paris.

My best love to my sister and your children. Believe me to be, with the most unfeigned regard,

Your obliged and affectionate brother,

M. E.

Mr. Woodfall to Mr. Eden.

Dorset Street, Salisbury Square, Feb. 3, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I thank you for your favour of the 24th of January. You will see by the letter from Mr. Palmer*, transmitted herewith, that I made the proper use of that we are to be shown. I shall thank you, if you continue long enough at Paris, for a line or two upon the subject, as soon as you shall have had an opportunity of paying it any attention.

We are just on the eve of tapping your tub at St. Stephen's. It has been upon the ferment ever since we met, and a good deal of your yeast has worked upwards from it. Without a metaphor, on Monday we are to discuss the nomination of the day, and expect Monday se'nnight will be stiffly objected to as too early. The Opposition (as you will have seen, if the *Morning Chronicle* † reaches you) contest the Treaty on the grounds of general policy, as I predicted they would in my last. Fox and Pitt have been warm and irascible more than once, on the topic of the state of our present and probable future trade with Portugal, and I see clearly, that it will prove a bone of contention all through the various debates, that will either mediately or immediately arise respecting your Treaty. Mr. Pelham ‡, you will have observed, is active on the subject.

Mr. Hastings's prosecution is moving onwards; Sheridan is to detail the charge about the Begums, and Fox says he was completely prepared a week ago, but, being afraid of establishing one precedent of punctuality on his part, moved the day. This

* Mr. Palmer the Post Office reformer.
† Mr. William Woodfall was Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.
‡ Hon. Thomas Pelham, afterwards second Earl of Chichester.

bon-mot has, however, within this day or two, been rendered into dull matter of fact, as the examination of Mr. Middleton and Sir Elijah Impey has furnished so much new evidence, that it has become absolutely necessary to move the day a second time, and not go to Oude till next Wednesday.

I thank you for your piece of news relative to the *Droit d'Aubaine**, which I forthwith communicated to the public, as I knew many people had contended that that important consideration had not been settled with sufficient explicitness in your Treaty.

Begging pardon for taking up so much of your valuable time, give me leave to subscribe myself,

Dear Sir, yours faithfully ever,

W. WOODFALL.

P.S.—As I have put down one *bon-mot*, I will scrawl another in the postscript. Lord North, at a late dinner at the Duke of Portland's, when the conversation turned on the promotion of Mr. Jenkinson to a peerage, said, "Aye, they can't go on without more of my friends; I suppose, when any question of state arises in the House of Lords, and Lord Carmarthen† and Lord Sydney are looked to, or called upon, they will both arise, *and like the two mutes‡ in the Mourning Bride*, point to Lord Hawkesbury."

The Treaty received the assent of the House of Commons, although Mr. Fox opposed it on the ground that France was our natural enemy.

* The right of the French Government to seize the goods of aliens dying in France.

† The Marquis of Carmarthen, afterwards fifth Duke of Leeds, had been a member of the Upper House since 1776, with the title of Baron Osborne.

‡ The two Secretaries of State seldom spoke in the House of Lords.

CHAP. VII.

Differences between England and France with respect to the Affairs of Holland. — Letters of Mr. Eden and M. de Rayneval. — Mr. Eden returns to Paris.—Lord Thurlow's Opinions on the Disputes.—M. de Montmorin professes a Wish to recede. Revolutionary Manifestations in Paris.—Warlike Letters of Mr. Pitt.—Notification of M. de Montmorin that France would assist the States of Holland against Prussia.—Lord Carmarthen's Circular Declaring that England would arm. — Mr. Grenville arrives in Paris.—The States of Holland recall their Demand of Assistance.—Lord Carmarthen suggests that a Declaration should be signed.—Mr. Eden's Reception at the Duchess of Polignac's Party.—Mr. Eden remonstrates against Sir James Harris's Suggestions.

THE following correspondence relates to the differences between England and France, with respect to the affairs of Holland, which terminated in a manner so satisfactory to the English nation.

For some years the influence of France had been predominant in Holland.

The Dutch navy, formerly so formidable under Van Tromp and De Ruyter, had sunk into a mere appendage of that of France, and their colonial possessions in the East had been turned into French outposts, from whence attacks might be made on English dominion in India. Sir James Harris, the English Ambassador in Holland, had long been endeavouring to thwart the proceedings of the democratic party, who, directed by French agents, were reducing the Stadtholder to a nonenity.

An accidental circumstance restored the Prince of Orange to his rights.

On the 28th of June, the Princess of Orange, sister of the young King of Prussia who had just succeeded to the throne of the great Frederick, was stopped and insulted on her journey from Nimeguen to the Hague. The King of Prussia determined, by the advice of that active diplomatist, Mr. Ewart, to

avenge the insult offered to the Princess, and demanded satisfaction from the States of Holland. The States of Holland refused satisfaction, and appealed for assistance from France. On the 13th* of September, M. de Montmorin, who had succeeded the Comte de Vergennes as Foreign Minister, announced to Mr. Eden that the demand of the States would be acceded to. The English Ministers received this important intelligence on the 15th. Their resolution was soon taken, and the French Government was informed that any armed interference in Holland would be met with all the might and power of England. Prussia was promised the assistance of forty sail of the line, and twenty-five thousand soldiers. The Prussian troops, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, poured into Holland and restored the Government of the Prince of Orange. The two nations were now face to face; the gauntlet was thrown down on both sides; they must either fight or recede. Mr. Pitt, who now personally superintended the direction of foreign affairs, not only did not recede, but he made France promise not to interfere in the affairs of Holland; then he made her sign a public declaration to that effect. Not content with that, he made France reduce her navy, which she had been increasing for the last two years, to a peace establishment. Mr. Eden, by his great influence with the French Ministers, materially contributed to this glorious result.

The following letter was written by Mr. Eden when in England in the month of July:—

Mr. Eden to M. de Rayneval.

Lambeth Palace.

My dear Sir,—I send this by the courier who carries a dispatch to the Duke of Dorset, on which

* The Prussian troops entered Holland on the same day.

I will make few remarks, because it can only be justly understood by a full and mature consideration of all its contents; and I therefore hope that the Duke will communicate it to M. le Comte de Montmorin with that unreserve which is best calculated in the present moment to bring our discussions to a right point.

I am so peculiarly situated in this business, that I see the interior of what is going forwards in both Governments,—and I have the fullest conviction upon my mind, that both Governments are cordially anxious to pursue the wishes of the two Sovereigns in the maintenance of peace towards each other, and in quieting the troubles which arise in other states, without seeking to derive any undue advantages from those troubles; at the same time I see with great uneasiness that, under all the circumstances of the moment, these good dispositions are liable to be frustrated, unless the utmost attention is exerted.

I lamented most sincerely the little misconception which took place so immediately after my departure; but the liberality and wisdom of M. de Montmorin's mind interposed and prevented it from doing any mischief. The line pursued in that instance has made a deep and right impression here.

The dispatch which will now be communicated to you, must be considered collectively, and not by particular sentences. If it happens (which, however, I see no reason to suppose) that there is any word or expression not precisely consonant to the feelings of your Government, place it to the account of the differences of the two languages, and consider the whole import. I aver to my friends here, that your Ministers are sincere in wishing to maintain peace and to restore the tranquillity of the Dutch Provinces upon just and constitutional terms. I now, through you, make the same averment to friends at Versailles respecting the Ministers here, — and *salvo honore* on both sides in the measures to be adopted.

We now go great lengths of conciliation, in stating and limiting the number of our ships, the short victualling and cruising to the westward, &c. &c. I conjure you to meet us and repay us with equal frankness and conciliation; and to tell us fairly and freely that you have no intention at present to assemble troops towards Holland. I entreat you further to recommend the taking effective steps to effectuate a state of civil peace between the Provinces. For the purpose of discussion I will recommend similar measures as far as I can here. I hope also that the joint arbitration is drawing towards an actual proposition. It will, however, be much expedited if you could give us a more specific statement of the plan to be adopted in settling the differences of the several parties.

In all this, which I write in extreme haste, you will not forget that I speak from my own personal feelings, and under the extreme disadvantage of expressing in few words, and at three hundred miles distance, what occurs on so great and complicated a subject. If I had the honour of ten minutes personal conversation with M. de Montmorin, I should hope for great information and advantages from it; as it is, I can only express wishes and hopes.

I will write more fully in a few days: en attendant, faites mille assurances à M. le Comte de Montmorin de mon respectueux attachement.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, très sincèrement, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

WM. EDEN.

P.S.—Permit me to suggest that, if any delicacy occurs as to the mode for communicating your answer, it would be an unobjectionable mode to write through Monsieur Barthelemy, and it will thus continue a transaction of confidence till the moment comes of its being ministerial.

M. de Rayneval to Mr. Eden.

A Versailles, le 20 juillet 1787.

J'ai reçu, Monsieur, la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 10 de ce mois, et je me suis empressé de la communiquer à M. le Comte de Montmorin. Ce Ministre a été très sensible à la manière confiante avec laquelle vous vous êtes expliqué sur ces malheureuses affaires de Hollande, et il fait fond sur ce que vous dites des dispositions pacifiques de votre Ministère. La dépêche que reçoit M. Barthelemy doit dissiper jusqu'à l'ombre de ses appréhensions par rapport à nos intentions. Il seroit bien à souhaiter, Monsieur, que vous revenissiez *promptement* à Paris; c'est le vœu de M. le Comte de Montmorin:—*il pense que ce seroit le seul moyen de se bien entendre, et de s'entendre promptement.* Mais, si vous venez soyez bien muni d'instructions, afin que le tems ne soit pas employé en envois de courriers. La cessation des mesures hostiles est de la dernière importance, et sans laquelle il sera impossible de rien faire. Obtenez que votre Ministère donne dans cette vue les instructions les plus précises et les plus péremptoires à M. le Chevalier Harris:—comptez que nous en agirons de même de notre côté.

Je me fais un devoir de vous confier, Monsieur, qu'il nous revient de tous côtés que vous avez ordonné l'armément de 17 vaisseaux de la ligne: on ne le croit pas ici, parce que cela est contraire à votre déclaration: cependant vous m'obligerez essentiellement, en me mettant en état de détruire tout ce que l'on mande à cet égard: vous sentirez de vous-même, que tout cela est de la plus grande importance.

La dépêche adressée à M. le Duc de Dorset est couchée dans un stile convenable et amical: on portera, j'espère, le même jugement de celle que communiquera M. Barthelemy.—Vous pouvez être sûr que l'on désire de ce côté-ci le maintien de la paix et de la

bonne harmonie: mais n'oubliez pas ce mot: *salvo honore.*

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c. &c.

DE RAYNEVAL.

P.S.—Si de votre part on s'expliquera sur ce que l'on désire relativement à M. le Stathouder, on aura lieu d'être content des principes que l'on a de ce côté-ci: je suppose que l'on ne demandera pas des choses inadmissibles.

In compliance with the wish of both Governments, Mr. Eden returned to Paris, and in the absence of the Duke of Dorset acted as Ambassador.

The following able letter of Lord Thurlow fully explains the causes of the disputes:—

The Lord Chancellor to Mr. Eden.

London, 10th August, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I don't know where to look for light enough upon the subject of your present discussion to give you any material assistance; but, though I am arrived at the very point where you hesitate, I cannot help suspecting some unsoundness in the arguments of our opponents, while they rest so entirely on generalities. They charge the Prince with violating the Constitution, and other enormities.

This is denied: still, they specify no one particular, but, waiving that head, they claim for the States of Holland the sovereignty of the province; covering every pretension, and answering every complaint, in two short words, *sic placet.*

This argument, conceived in a style *satis pro imperio*, certainly proves a great deal, if it does not prove too much.

The whole executive power of the province, including the judicial, formally resides in the person

of the Prince. If that were transferred to a Marshal of France, or dispersed among the people at large, the same argument would cover even these mad resolutions; so indeed it would, if, by a sort of *Lex Julia* the entire sovereignty were disposed of in the same manner. To my superficial view of the subject, it seems, that their Constitution should be read backwards. To understand the authority of the States-General, one must look, not only to the union of 1579, but to the respective Constitutions of each province. To understand the authority of the Provincial States, one must look back to the constitution of their nobles, their towns, and other integral members. After acquiring a competent notion of the general subject, another task remains, perhaps more difficult, to trace the occasion of the present disorders. Upon all these heads I have so little information, that I totally distrust my own opinion, or rather fancy, to which the present interposition of France appears in an unfavourable, not to say ridiculous, light; if the power, which backs it, did not give it another aspect.

The troubles begin in Holland, where you and M. Montmorin seem almost agreed they ought to end, and they are supposed to have begun nearly in the following manner.

Some dark traditions are found in the prefaces of histories, that, in the towns of Holland, as well as other provinces, the provincial magistrates were originally chosen by the people at large. A contrary practice has certainly obtained ever since the revolt from the House of Burgundy, and all historians seem to agree, that the new sovereignty could not have been maintained under the old system, if that ever existed in fact. Nothing is more easy than to persuade the people at large that all power is best lodged in their hands; at the same time a more unjust and barbarous line of policy cannot be adopted by a powerful neighbour than this, of exciting and maintaining the mob of any country in such destructive

pretensions. This France is supposed to have done; and, with so much effect, that, by turning out those who were duly elected, and substituting those chosen by the people at large, a majority has been gained both in the Provincial States and in the executive council.

By the preservative constitution of the towns, the principal magistrates are nominated by the Prince, out of classes of three persons, each elected in the place, and it has been usual for the Prince to recommend even the three: the last seems matter of mere complaisance; the first, which is of right, is now transferred from the Prince to the Provincial States, equally contrary to the freedom of the towns, and to the just rights of the Prince.

Such usurpations, probably, would not have been attempted, certainly not have been maintained, without force; for this purpose, bodies of men, which they call free corps, have been raised, armed, and trained, voluntarily: that is to say, by the party. It is needless to comment upon a military force, maintained in any state, independent of public authority. The Provincial States of Holland, thus new modelled, employ the provincial quota of the Republican army to the same effect.

These irregular exertions could not have been made at all without large pecuniary assistance from France; nor, when made, have availed without continual and express assurances, ministerially given by the Ambassador* himself, that they would be backed by the Power, and, if need should be, by the arms, of that nation. It is well known in France, that nothing short of such violence on their part would have urged the friends of the old constitution to make up to England.

Upon these heads, it is gravely observed by our opponents, that the Stadtholder, having nothing to do with the sovereignty, has, consequently, no concern

* M. de Verac.

in the election of the magistrates. Besides the interest which every subject has in preserving the constitution he lives under, surely it is sufficiently apparent that the Prince has no inconsiderable share in the sovereignty.

Here many confused reflections arise, which I want the means to shape or arrange: first, the general idea of destruction to the State, which is menaced by these disorders, in which their Government seems to be dissolved; secondly, a question how far an assembly, so irregularly constituted, and more irregularly awed by a military force, can be deemed the Provincial States; thirdly, what competent authority these States, if they were freer and more regularly constituted, would have to invade the franchises of the towns, and change even the principles of their own existence; fourthly, how far the populace of the towns, contrary to the established constitution of those places, could subvert the magistracy, resort must be had to the maxim that all power, being derived from the people, may be resumed by them, where *the people* mean *that* man, or number of men, who can make the best fight of it, but this maxim is no part of any regular government; I presume not of France.

It was necessary to the views of the party, to put the command of the army into the hands of their own leaders; and the Prince has been accordingly suspended from the office of Captain-general of the province.

In reasoning upon this head, however, our opponents seem to agree that his restoration to that office is an essential step towards restoring the Constitution of the province, but they still struggle to diminish his patronage and weaken his authority. This pretension they rest also on the old plea; they are sovereigns, and *sic placet.*

Their first claim is, to divide with him the collation of regimental commissions, from Ensign up to Colonel, inclusively.

I don't know enough of the constitution of the Union army to judge how far this point is to be deemed in theory or practice a Republican or provisional point, even as applied to the contingent furnished by Holland, although given expressly by a resolution of the States of Holland to their Captain-general. I am informed that the same power has been exercised over the whole army by the Captain-general of the Union ever since it began. It is said that the quota of troops furnished by each province becomes thereupon part of the Union army; and, though the command of that part of it which is actually stationed in each province accrues to their States, and to their Captain-general, as incidental to their sovereignty, yet the right of bestowing regimental commissions is no such necessary incident. If Holland claims it while a regiment is locally in that province, so may the other provinces while the same regiment is locally there; and, at all events, it must devolve upon the States-General, or their Captain-general, whenever such regiment is locally in the generality, or in foreign parts, but neither the other states nor the States-General desire it. Perhaps they have also conferred it, in like manner with Holland, upon the Prince; such a divided and floating patronage could only tend to corrupt the army. The same objection occurs in another shape if it be supposed that each province confers regimental commissions on their own quota. No such claim has ever been made by the other provinces, or by Holland, till now. Indeed the claim of Holland, in its present form, seems quite unprincipled, and rather contemptible. Public reason either requires, as has hitherto been thought, that the Captain-general of the Union should be looked up to by the army for their promotion; or that the States respectively should hold that situation. Dividing it seems to turn on the private and paltry object of encroaching so much patronage.

The point of commanding at the Hague, and of

giving the word there, seems small indeed, and not to be much insisted on, whether as Captain-general of the Union or of the Province. It is said always to have belonged to the Prince and his ancestors; but, while the Hague remains the residence of the States-General, it seems properly to belong to the Captain-general of the Union. It cannot be done by a public body; some other officer must do it, if not the Captain-general. It is impossible to read the commission of 1766, by which he is made to represent the whole executive authority, civil and military, of the province, without supposing this a necessary incident to that situation; and the very suggestion of putting it into other hands has no apparent object but mortification and insult, or probable motive but personal animosity. If this cannot be a little suppressed, all hope of peace must vanish. The military jurisdiction, exercised by the high council of war, is not said to have produced any actual grievance or specified complaint; at least of late. But it must be confessed, that it has always been regarded with jealousy, as giving more umbrage to the civil authority than should be allowed in a free state, by assuming the cognizance of civil crimes and by screening military persons from the civil magistrate. When King William's military authority was circumscribed, as you know, in England, a similar plan was laid before him by the sovereign civil court of Holland, and that proposal stands on principles not easily disputed.

The argument on the subject of the patents seems also with our opponents, at least thus far, that the difficulties thereupon should find their arrangement in practice, as they have hitherto done. The patents, properly speaking, that is the power of marching and disposing the troops, naturally issue from the Captain-general. But the local privileges of every town entitle them to insist that no troops shall be cantoned within their district without their consent. This consent is given by an instrument called a *lettre*

d'attache. No difficulty has yet arisen on this head in practice, nor is any likely to arise, but from the spirit of dissension.

It would look invidious to proceed to that tyrannical and insolent measure of Holland, the sending troops into the neighbouring provinces to enforce the reform of their constitutions, because that seems no longer to make part of the point of national honour, on which France thinks it necessary to stand. You remember all that M. Rayneval could find, in a laboured composition, to say upon this head to the Prince of Orange, was only to ask it as a peace-offering: "Il faut puiser dans son cœur." Perhaps "Il faut fourrer dans sa poche" would have been as apt an expression.

God knows what degree of resemblance this representation bears to the true state of the controversy. Allowing it any, it becomes manifest, that these commotions could not have arisen, nor can now hold a month without the active support of France. If she will withdraw her interposition, or confine it even to such articles as may reform the government, without dissolving or sapping it, the whole will then be over; and that without even the embarrassment of a foreign mediation; so at least the States of Zealand have expressed their opinion. No other country meddled with their affairs till the French drove them to extremities; and, if the French do not insist upon absolutely ruining them, it is probable that no other power will interfere with them.

What a childish scene you exhibited in your last despatch; the minister of a great country exclaiming that France is covered with dirt in the eyes of all Europe if she does not persist in abetting a faction to overturn the constitution of one member of a small neighbouring State; childish, I mean, to one who is ignorant of the secret objects that Court may entertain, and, consequently, of the value to be put upon them; and also the private engagements she may have contracted with the leaders of the revolt.

Upon these, undoubtedly, the conduct of France will ultimately turn; in the mean time, to speak fairly, her ostensible topics are not a little frivolous; the closest alliance with a confederacy of nations creates no duty or right to assist the invasion of one on the rest, or to interfere in the interior government of any. The colour of assisting the lawful magistrate against his rebels is notoriously groundless.

If France will leave the Republic to itself, the Constitution will right on its own account; if France will be content with the credit of procuring only a due reform of such deviations as may have fallen out from the original form of their government, she will have done no mischief. If she is determined to persist in overturning the whole, she must go to war for it.

This letter would have been shorter, if I had known more of the matter; but I was in hopes that even misconceptions (if these should turn out to be such) might lead your inquiries a little way towards that information of which we stand in so much need, as it should seem, both in your Court and here.

I am, dear Sir, with great regard,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

THURLOW.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Secret.) Séve, near Paris, August 23, 1787.

My dear Sir,—M. de Montmorin mentioned to me a circumstance on Tuesday last, which I obtained permission from him to communicate in confidence to you, but which he entreated me most earnestly not to state in my official despatches, and of which he also entreats you to make no use except for your own private information. He had some time ago hinted to me, and I believe I remarked it to you at the time, that he had no sanguine ideas of going forwards to advantage with the Dutch business by employing those in conciliation who had been engaged, or may have been supposed to have been engaged, in a different line of conduct. On Tuesday he told me that

he had, the preceding day, obtained permission to offer the Dutch Embassy to M. de St. Priest, and had that morning dispatched a courier to him accordingly (he is in his terres at a very considerable distance from Paris): he had no doubt that M. de St. Priest would very thankfully accept; but he has not yet informed the Marquis de Verac of his intended recall; nor has he yet taken means to explain the matter to others who have claims and expectations upon him, nor is the measure yet known to the other Ministers of the Cabinet.

You will therefore feel that the request to us to make no mention of it at present is perfectly reasonable. M. de St. Priest will be required to proceed instantly to the Hague. I happen to know him personally, and with some degree of intimacy. He showed considerable talents in his Embassy at Constantinople, but happened to quarrel with M. de Vergennes, whom he succeeded there: he has been unemployed therefore since his return, but with considerable pretensions, and was particularly talked of for the situation which M. de Montmorin now fills. I was glad that he failed on that occasion, because though he is a pleasant man, and though I happen to know him well, I had great doubts whether he would have entered cordially into the system which we wish to cultivate. He acts much from his own opinions, and has a degree of harshness in his character under the cover of much politeness. He will however, act with effect and with zeal towards quieting the Dutch troubles, if he is satisfied (and made fully sensible) that he is appointed with that view.

I wait with anxiety for further and full instructions from you on the Dutch business. I have had a very long and able letter from the Chancellor upon the subject. I do not quite agree as to all his positions, but they will be of great use and advantage to me; and I wish you would take the trouble to say that I had mentioned them to you with a sense of my obligation for his kindness in writing them.

I am more peculiarly anxious on this subject for its speedy progress, because I see no bounds to the inconvenience to which I shall be exposed if I am detained here above four weeks longer, and am afterwards expected to proceed this winter to Madrid. As it is, I shall be subject to difficulties of various kinds by going so instantly upon my appointment; but if I do not go, I should be expected to go the instant that the snows are melted and the roads are passable in January or February, and that would carry me into passing the summer in Spain, the danger of which I dread exceedingly. Under this view of my situation, I have authorised Mr. Liston to pay 800*l.* to secure the immediate possession of a house for four months; and I am now working from morning to night to be at liberty to get away. At the same time I cannot but foresee that affairs may take such a turn as to make my removal so soon as I wish almost impracticable. I am sure that M. de Montmorin, from personal friendship towards me, as well as from higher motives, will do everything in his power to accelerate our conclusions, but he may not have the means. My difficulty is not with respect to the Court of Madrid, M. de Montmorin and M. d'Aranda*would arrange matters with that Ministry, and would make it cover their request to me not to go yet. It turns on a different point: I want it to be over; I hate so distant and so unoccupied an exile, and cannot think without pain of having it to begin in another year. Pray think of all this, and tell me what you think about it. I will enclose in my despatches of the day M. de Montmorin's private note to me respecting it.

As to our East India project, I was tempted to say not one word about it in this letter, because, though I think that I shall in a few days convert it into a treaty I am quite afraid to say so yet, lest it should prove a disappointment. It will give me at least as much pleasure as the Treaty of Commerce gave, if it

* The Spanish Ambassador at the Court of Versailles.

succeeds, for I do not think it of less importance; and it will be an addition to the successes which we have had together in foreign negotiations, which will add permanently to your fame, both at present and in all future times. Nothing will then be wanting but a proper settlement of the Dutch business, which I think we have also in the best trim possible.

I have some suspicion that M. de Castries's retirement will soon take place. Upon my expressing on Tuesday last, some regret to M. de Montmorin that the little teasing business of the Consuls remained unsettled, he desired me to feel no concern about it, but to have a little patience, and this with so significant a tone, that I could not construe it otherwise than I have done.

I am quite afraid to write all that is passing here on the interior disturbances—"*Ce sont des horreurs.*" Hand-bills were dispersed a few days ago in the following words,—"Le Roi à Charenton,—la Reine à Sainte Pélagie,—le Comte d'Artois à Sainte Lazare,—le Dauphin aux Enfans Trouvés et Monsieur Régent."* You probably know that Charenton est pour des fous; Sainte Pélagie pour des femmes de mauvaise vie; et Sainte Lazare pour des mauvais sujets. And it is said that a few days ago, "Damien†" was written in several places in the great gallery at Versailles. Monsieur is popular merely because a name is wanted to be placed at the head of the faction that is fermenting. All this is infinitely disgusting to the great personages concerned; and yet I have little doubt that it will gradually revert to good order, for the force of this government is of a kind which is not easily shaken even with bad management, of which there has been much.

I am, my dear Sir,
Respectfully and most sincerely yours,
WM. EDEN.

* Afterwards Louis XVIII.

† "Damien" was executed for attempting the assassination of Louis XV.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

Séve, near Paris, August 28, 1787.

My dear Sir,—You will see in my despatches of this day the changes in this government, in great measure pursuant to what I hinted in my last: the Archbishop* is principal Minister, not Premier. It is no part of the plan that the Maréchals de Castries and de Ségur should remain in office, and therefore it is not inconvenient that there is a sort of supposed etiquette by which maréchals of France cannot properly travailler *under* a principal Minister. I am very glad to believe that what is going forwards is perfectly agreeable to M. de Montmorin.

The Dutch negotiation ripens fast towards the form and colour that you wish; but I doubt whether I can get them to like the idea of a mediation if it is avoidable, and in truth it is open to many objections.

The East India business continues in a very hopeful state, and will be concluded in a few days, if the Maréchal de Castries' advisers do not induce him upon his ministerial deathbed to start some material objections to it. I shall know on Thursday, but not in time for the courier.

I consider everything in such forwardness as to put it in my power, according to all reasonable probability, to leave this Court in about four weeks, and am taking my measures accordingly:—if you think me likely to be disappointed in this, pray take the trouble to write me a line and say so.†

I much doubt whether the Archbishop has either health or nerve equal to what he is undertaking; but it may do for a time.

I am, my dear Sir,
Yours respectfully and most sincerely,
W. Eden.

(Private.)

P.S.—M. de Montmorin has complained rather seriously to me, not merely that the papers in general

* The Archbishop of Toulouse.

† Mr. Eden had been appointed Ambassador to the Court of Spain.

which have lately passed between London and Versailles have been communicated from England to Prussia, but that we have also communicated the letter of the 4th July, addressed to M. de Montmorin by the Duke of Dorset*, though that letter was disavowed between the two Courts, with such management as certain considerations of personal good nature mutually suggested:—he even seems to think that his answer to that letter was kept back. I wish you would take the trouble to inquire into this at the office, and to enable me to remove the impression; his idea of it was that if it was not an accident it was a breach of faith. The King of Prussia made an insulting use of it; they were going to take the trouble to explain the transaction as it was, but I believe I prevented it.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Private.) Paris, Sept. 4th, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for your few lines to set right the point about the Duke of Dorset's letter to M. de Montmorin. I omitted by accident to carry it to-day to Versailles; but I shall see M. de Montmorin to-morrow:—I cannot account for the circumstance; the fact is very certain that the King of Prussia has that letter.

(Secret.)—I suspect that M. de la Luzerne† will be appointed to England in a few weeks, unless M. de Montmorin should think that his living heretofore in America may give an unpleasing sensation to the King; if so, he will probably send the Duc de Vauguyon to England, and the other to Spain. As I know the former and not the latter, I doubt whether we shall not be sorry for the circumstance which may keep the former from England:—he is a sensible man, properly disposed, and honourable, and would bear

* The Duke's letter was a menacing one with respect to French interference in Holland.

† M. de la Luzerne had been French Minister in America during the war.

the full confidence of his principal. If you will find out what will be most agreeable, I will contrive it, but I beg you not to delay it, if you think it material.

M. de Montmorin again returned to-day with great earnestness to the extreme necessity of my remaining at least a few weeks longer here: and said that he should consider my going *comme d'un très mauvais augure:* and that if it was from delicacy towards the Court of Madrid, he would charge himself instantly to bear a letter from the Comte de Florida Blanca, to state some friendly and ostensible reason for my delaying for a few weeks:—he said that even his answers could not come from M. de St. Priest* before my departure; that at the utmost the armistice only could be established in the course of the month;—that he saw no hopes of opening such a discussion with any comfort or confidence with a new person;—that the strange conduct of the Porte † had opened a new subject of a most important kind, on which an explanation must take place;—that he could give the positive certainty of nothing being to be done in Spain (beyond great personal civilities), except in concurrence with this Court, &c. &c. &c. To all which I answered that I had felt what he had already kindly hinted on this subject; that I had considered it freely and fairly; and written to you respecting it:—But personal considerations respecting the Duke of Dorset, exclusive of the inconvenience and risk to my family in such a voyage and change of climate in the midst of winter, obliged me to go even if there should be a disposition at home to retain me a few weeks longer here:—and that I had sent the preceding day to Mr. Liston‡ accordingly.

I suppose that His Most Christian Majesty would

* M. de St. Priest had succeeded M. de Verac as French Ambassador in Holland.

† The Porte had declared war against Russia; and imprisoned the Russian Minister.

‡ Mr. Liston was Secretary of Embassy at Madrid.

have said something upon the Convention; but I do not at present go to the levées, having been obliged to inoculate one of my children, and the Duc de Normandie not having had the small-pox.

I am, my dear Sir,

Most respectfully and sincerely yours,

WM. EDEN.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, Sept. 8, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I received with the most sincere satisfaction the account of the fortunate completion of the East India Convention*, which I had hardly flattered myself would be so entirely agreeable to our wishes. The despatch you will receive upon that subject will, I hope, mark our real disposition to give every further facility that is practicable.

The insertion proposed in the seventh article of the words, "à l'exception des Français," was what we could not agree to without giving up in a striking degree the principles we have been so anxious to maintain. I much wish the next subject I have to speak of,—I mean the Dutch business—was of as agreeable a nature. M. de Montmorin may in the end mean fairly, and we are far from wishing to imply personal suspicion of him, or the rest of the French Government, in any offensive manner. But what is to be said of the style or substance of his confidential note to you of the 4th instant? The idea of disarming the Free Corps is now represented as impracticable, which in former conversations we understood to have been suggested by himself as a possible alternative, and without which I hardly see how any cessation of hostilities can be secure. The manner of speaking of the introduction of French

* Mr. Eden had concluded a Convention with respect to India with the French Government. In the Convention France recognised our sovereignty in India.

troops into the Republic, and of the representation made by the States-General in consequence, is beyond measure supercilious and offensive; and the observation that the province of Overyssel, and the towns of Utrecht and Wyk (where the magistracy has been subverted *by force* by the Free Corps) "*ont déjà consommé la réforme, que c'est une affaire terminée,*" is precisely in the same character. We are sincere and earnest in wishing an amicable arrangement on just and reasonable terms. We have no wish (whatever are the circumstances of France), to urge them beyond these limits, or to have the appearance of doing so; but there will be no chance of the negotiation ending well while the French Minister indulges himself (in the midst of friendly professions) in a tone inconsistent with every idea of accommodation. I guess the quarter from which the intimation came to you respecting the *idea of the Prince of Orange, being to dispose the Prince to retire in favour of his son.* Nothing could be devised, however, which we should deem more unfit to be listened to for a moment, and it is, therefore, fortunate no answer is desired. It is an idea which I cannot think of suggesting to any person living. I have expressed strongly, but exactly, what I feel on these subjects. If, however, at bottom the French mean conciliation, I am sincerely desirous that such a confidential communication may be maintained, as will facilitate it whenever they act directly and consistently towards that object. On this ground, I much wish that any arrangement could be found to prolong your stay at Paris.

We have declined making any observations on the Note Confidentielle you enclosed*, and for this reason, as well as from the impossibility of acting on so delicate a business, on explanations which are merely *personal*, and not *ministerial*. You cannot too much discourage this species of communication It is the less necessary, as this is not a subject which, in its

* Of M. de Montmorin.

present stage, ought to go into detail. As to the particular information which M. de Montmorin seems to wish you should receive in order to "*discuter la matière au fond*," I do not see how it can be furnished without transferring to Paris the whole detail of the negotiation, instead of confining the discussion there (as has been always intended) to the leading principles which may serve as preliminaries to the mediation. The appearance of carrying on the Treaty at Paris beyond this point, has from the beginning been thought improper; nor in fact can all the necessary information be procured, except at some place within the Republic, or near it.

Faithfully, and sincerely yours,

W. PITT.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Séve, 13th Sept. 1787.

My Lord,—I am this moment returned from Versailles, having gone thither in consequence of a message from M. de Montmorin, who stated to me the note delivered to the States of Holland on the 8th or 9th instant by M. de Wintemeyer; and the resolution of the States thereon to apply to His Most Christian Majesty for protection.

M. de Montmorin informed me that in the opinion of His Most Christian Majesty's Ministers, it would be deemed necessary to offer to Holland support in whatever manner might be most efficacious, if His Prussian Majesty should advance his army into the Provinces.

He expressed extreme astonishment at the measure which was conceived to make this step unavoidable. He meant immediately to dispatch a courier to M. Barthelemi * with such instructions and communications as he thought the occasion called for, and was so obliging as to give me the offer of writing by the same conveyance.

* The French Chargé d'Affaires, London.

I avail myself of it thus far, and reserve further particulars for the despatch which I shall send as immediately as I can write it by the ordinary conveyances, which will probably reach your Lordship's hands equally soon.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,
WM. EDEN.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Hollwood, Friday night, Sept. 14, 1787.*

My dear Sir,—You will receive as you desired your letter of recall, but as I see you must still be upon the spot near a month longer, there will be time to bring everything to a point in France, before your departure; and I still trust the interval may be usefully employed for that purpose. In truth the business seems approaching to a crisis, and the point upon which it must turn seems to me very simple. If the Court of France is content (as you seemed to intimate in one of your despatches), to abandon the project of extending its influence in the United Provinces† by a substantive change in their internal constitution, and can make up its mind to leave us the advantage we certainly shall derive from preserving the authority of the Government in the hands where it has hitherto been placed, there will be no great difficulty in effecting a settlement. It will certainly be our interest and our wish to bring about such a settlement, with as little appearance as possible of mortifying the feelings of the French Government; and we should be ready to concede whatever points we can (without giving up the substance), in order to satisfy their friends in Holland, and save to a certain degree their honour.

* This letter is written before Mr. Pitt had received Mr. Eden's important letter of the 13th.

† There were seven provinces: Holland, Overyssel, Groningen, Utrecht, Gueldres, Friesland, and Zealand. The three last small provinces were generally favourable to the Stadtholder.

The point of the *Patentes*, and that of the *Military Jurisdiction* may come under this description. With regard to the *Règlements*, there may be no harm in going to the extent stated in one of Lord Carmarthen's dispatches, that the Prince of Orange will enter fairly into the discussion of them with the several Provincial States who are concerned. But no engagement can be made beforehand for an alteration, and probably none material would take place. The authority of the Stadtholder as the first executive magistrate, the influence which he possesses from the distribution of offices and employments, and whatever gives him a weight in the States-General, or the States of the Provinces, must be preserved. If the French Court will not adopt these principles, I believe the question must be decided by a war. The object is so important, and the means we have for the contest are comparatively so encouraging, that we cannot in my opinion shrink from it. At the same time, I am far from feeling any wish in consequence of the present situation of France, to provoke extremities if they can be avoided.* The advantage of a continued peace is more to this country than anything we might gain by taking the opportunity of going to war; but the actual mischief of suffering France to carry its point in Holland would more than counterbalance it. This really seems to bring the discussion into a narrow compass, and I wish you would endeavour to ascertain, and to let me know, whether the French Government has formed any decided plan with respect to it. They must, as things stand, give up in effect their predominant influence in the Republic, or they must determine *to fight for it.* A third way may be attempted, and, I think, seems to be that which they aim at,—to gain time, and to strengthen their party within the Republic. The motion of the Prussian army may, perhaps, put this out of the question, but at all events, it must end in the alternative I have

* Mr. Eden had sent Mr. Pitt a most accurate account of the critical state of the French finances.

already mentioned; for we shall certainly take care not to let Holland gain a superiority over the other Provinces during any interval in which the suspense may continue. It is therefore much better that the question should be brought at once to a decisive issue. I have no distrust of M. de Montmorin's sincerity when he professes a wish for peace, nor have we any object of any kind but what I have explained. But while he wishes peace, he wishes also, more or less, to carry the point for his own Court in Holland. *This it is precisely our object to prevent.* The question therefore is, not whether he is sincere in a general wish for peace, but whether he will accede to those principles which can alone make an attempt at accommodation effectual. By our accounts from Holland, the satisfaction demanded by the King of Prussia was not given, nor likely to be given, within the time limited for the commencement of military operations. They will probably have taken place before you receive this letter. France certainly need not, and I conclude will not, interfere in consequence of these measures, but if she does, we have no choice left, and must act accordingly. The King of Prussia is requiring satisfaction from the Province of Holland alone (or, rather from a party in that Province), for an act expressly disavowed by the majority of the States-General; France, therefore, is not called upon as an ally, and if she makes this the ground for measures of force, we shall be compelled to a similar conduct. You will perceive that this letter is a confidential explanation of my present sentiments, and I have stated them as precisely as I can. I will only add, that everything seems to me to depend on bringing the business to an issue as soon as possible.

I am, my dear Sir,

Most sincerely and faithfully yours,

W. PITT.

P.S.—What I have said respecting possible concessions on the point of *the Patentes*, &c., is intended (like the rest of this letter,) to put you as much as

possible in possession of what occurs to me on the whole subject, but the French Minister has certainly not yet given any sufficient opening to bring such concessions forward. I need hardly add, that if any steps are resolved to form an army at Givet, or take any other steps of that sort, it will be highly material to let us know as soon as possible.

Mr. Grenville* was now sent to Paris to co-operate with Mr. Eden.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, Wednesday, Sept. 19th, 1787.

My dear Sir,—The want of leisure will not allow me to write many lines; but it is the less necessary, as I could not express my personal sentiments in this critical situation more exactly than you will find them in the public despatch.† It will not be our fault if a rupture is not avoided, but, if that cannot be done on the principles we have explained, we have fully made up our minds to the consequences. We think our proposals themselves reasonable, and are ready to show all possible conciliation in the mode, *but we shall never depart from our ground.* Both these views, and time pressing so much, I have thought much would be gained by Mr. Grenville's coming over, who has all the local‡ knowledge of which you state the necessity respecting Holland, and whom we can apprise of every idea on the spot more fully than it can be done by letter. He will probably set out the day after to-morrow; and you know his temper and talent enough to make it, I trust, both easy and pleasant to co-operate with him. I trust, as things are at this moment so critical, you will be able, without much inconvenience, to suspend your journey a short time. Little more than a fortnight may

* Mr. W. W. Grenville, afterwards Lord Grenville.
† The despatch will be found in the Appendix.
‡ Mr. Grenville had been lately in Holland on a diplomatic mission.

decide, as well as three months, whether we are ultimately to have peace or war, and the sooner it is brought to an issue the better.

I am, my dear Sir,
Yours most sincerely,
W. PITT.

P. S.—While I have been writing this, I receive your letter of the 16th. I hope the stay I propose to you to make at Paris need not prevent you reaching Madrid before the bad weather sets in. Pray send every light you can as to the preparations France is making, or may probably make.

I forgot in my last letter to say how glad I was to receive the account you sent me relative to the supposed conversation between you and Baron Goltz.*

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, Friday, Sept. 21, 1787.

My dear Sir,—Mr. Grenville is just setting out, and although I have nothing to add to the information contained in the despatches sent you on Wednesday, I cannot help repeating to you the earnest and anxious hope I entertain, that with your assistance he may be able to come to that speedy and distinct explanation with a view to which he is sent. We have adopted this measure in furnishing the best prospect of avoiding extremities. You will be able to judge in a great measure, in conversing with Mr. Grenville, whether it is likely to succeed, and you will, I am sure, feel how much depends upon it. At all events, I shall feel great satisfaction in the reflection that every step is taken on our part that we think practicable to bring things to a favourable issue, and, indeed, I do not see why it may not still be effected. But the moment certainly presses in the greatest degree; and, what we are now trying is a

* The Prussian Minister at Paris had misreported a conversation of Mr. Eden.

last effort to endeavour to obtain an object which we have so strongly at heart, but for which, nevertheless, we cannot sacrifice what we think essential to our own credit, and (what is much more) to the permanent security of the country.

I am, dear Sir,

Sincerely and faithfully yours,

WM. PITT.

The following despatch of Lord Carmarthen was addressed to the English Ambassadors and Ministers at the different Courts of Europe. A copy of it was sent to Mr. Eden.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, Sept. 21, 1787.

Sir,—The situation of affairs in the United Provinces has long been so serious as to engage the general attention of Europe; and it is become still more so by events which have recently taken place. The French Court has notified its determination to give assistance to the party in Holland who resist the King of Prussia's just demand of satisfaction for the insult offered to the Princess of Orange. His Majesty cannot consider that Court as entitled by its alliance with the Republic, to support a party in one of the Provinces in a measure expressly disavowed by the majority of the States-General; and His Majesty has repeatedly declared the impossibility of his being indifferent to any armed interference of France in the affairs of the Republic, which, if unopposed, must necessarily tend to consequences dangerous to the Constitution and independence of those Provinces, and affecting in many respects the interests and security of His Majesty's dominions.

His Majesty has, therefore, found himself under the necessity of taking immediate measures for equipping a considerable naval armament, and for augmenting his land forces, in order to be prepared

for any circumstances which may arise. It remains, however, His Majesty's earnest wish to preserve to his subjects, and to Europe, the blessings of peace, unless he is compelled by a regard to the interests of his dominions to adopt a contrary conduct; and he has renewed such instructions to his Minister at Paris, as may be most likely, if there exists a similar disposition in the Court of France, to effect on just grounds, an amicable settlement of the several points in discussion, which have led to the present critical situation.

The circumstances contained in this despatch are sent to you for your information; and, in making the communication of them to the Ministers of the Court where you reside, you will confine yourself as nearly as possible to the particulars herein mentioned.

I am, &c.
CARMARTHEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Private.) Séve, near Paris, Sept. 22nd, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I refer you to my despatches for what has passed, upon the instructions which I received this morning from England.

I have had a very long conversation with M. de Rayneval, subsequent to my conference with M. de Montmorin. There is, however, no material difference in their sentiments. As they certainly had not yet carried their menace to assist Holland into the act of execution, I am sorry that circumstances have now forced both Courts into the great detail and dangerous tendency of warlike preparations.

Mr. Grenville's coming is a very pleasant circumstance to me in the midst of all these troubles, and I think that it may be of great use, as it will not be easy for us to act together otherwise than with cordiality.

I had bespoken my mules (thirty-four) to come from

Madrid to Bayonne (about 350 miles), and have taken various other arrangements, but these are very inferior considerations at the present moment. I have now settled, pursuant to my last letter, to set out on the eighth or ninth of October.

I am, dear Sir, respectfully and most sincerely yours,

WM. EDEN.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, Sept. 23rd, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I have but a moment at present, and will write again by Friday's messenger if not sooner.

Some unaccountable accident has prevented the despatch on the East India Convention being sent. It was prepared, and I thought forwarded immediately on the receipt of the Convention. Mr. Grenville can tell you its general substance.

Do not scruple to draw for such a sum as you mention; and if you can concert the means for a much larger from time to time, being usefully employed, I shall be much obliged to you.

I like the account of M. de Montmorin's last conversation. Surely they will be reasonable enough to agree with a good grace to *what cannot be prevented.*

Yours sincerely,

W. PITT.

The Prussian troops had now restored the Stadtholder to his rights, and the States of Holland recalled their demand for assistance.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, Sept. 25th, 1787.

Sir,—I think it material (in case you should not already have received it from Sir James Harris) to send, for your information and that of Mr. Grenville, the inclosed resolution of the States of Holland,

which was voted on Friday last by sixteen towns. It was received with a despatch from Sir James Harris this morning, and is of the greatest importance, as it seems to deprive the French Court of every shadow of plea for persisting in the determination to interpose on the present occasion by armed force, the notification of which gave rise to the preparations now making in this country.

It was with no little surprise that I read that part of M. de Montmorin's conversation wherein he lamented the resolution taken by His Majesty of arming to the extent which has unfortunately been found unavoidable, and puts upon that foundation the resolution of France to adopt the same resolution and make preparations of every kind; and my surprise is still greater, that he complains of the manner in which he supposes we availed ourselves of an opening to bring the Prussian force into action, which has superseded (he says) all negotiation, and is aggravated by this circumstance, that he was acting with the most conciliating disposition.

It is needless to discuss the ground on which the King of Prussia proceeded, which M. de Montmorin said he would not then dispute. It is enough to observe that M. de Montmorin, on the 13th of September, thought himself bound in candour to inform us that it was become impossible, in his opinion, for His Most Christian Majesty, consistently with the honour of his crown, to refuse the aid which was asked by a State making part of a solemn alliance recently contracted against the invasion of a foreign force. The same communication was made by M. Barthelemi; and M. de Montmorin could expect nothing less than the preparations he now complains of. Thus the transaction has been represented to all other Foreign Courts in the circular letter which I wrote on Friday last (a copy of which I inclose for your private information), and it is of importance that he should be reminded of it, because he is certainly not at liberty to refer any preparations which France

may now make to those which have been made here, after having so expressly announced his design of moving to the aid of his friends in Holland, before it occurred to this Court to make even a show of force.

It is impossible for me to send any more particular instructions either to you or Mr. Grenville, till further information is received from Holland, and till we have learnt the result of Mr. Grenville's first conference with M. de Montmorin. I must remark, however, in general, on what M. de Montmorin appears by your dispatch to have stated respecting the supposition of "all consideration belonging to the friends of France being superseded in Holland, so as to make it not only useless but unbecoming in France to take part in any concerted arrangement upon the subject," that all instructions lately given both to you and Mr. Grenville, show His Majesty's disposition to contribute to procure for them (as far as may depend upon him) every reasonable consideration *which circumstances can admit.* It is, however, certainly not impossible that the revolution may be so complete as to leave no room for mediation on this or any other points, and that it will not depend on the negotiation of any Foreign Power what course events shall now take in the Republic. This may be the more to be expected, as Sir James Harris does not seem to suppose that much resistance was likely to take place at Amsterdam; and as, by every account we have received, the events which have happened are not so much to be imputed to the impression of a foreign tone (to which M. de Montmorin ascribes them) as to the voluntary and natural emotions of the people at large, delivered from the restraint to which they have long been subject. The nature of the success sufficiently demonstrates the truth of this; and I have been assured by private accounts, that the Prussians are received as the deliverers of the country, and have behaved in a manner to entitle them to that name.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

CARMARTHEN.

P.S.—Your despatches by Dickins were received this morning.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Ewart.

(Private and confidential.) Whitehall, Sept. 28, 1787.

Sir,—The accounts from Paris look as if such settlement as is stated in my other dispatch might immediately obtain all the objects we have in view. You cannot be too careful to satisfy the Prussian Court, (though I trust there can be no doubt on the subject,) that we are resolved to meet all consequences, if the conduct of France should make it necessary: at the same time, if this business can be amicably and rightly settled, His Majesty is as anxious to preserve peace, and to be relieved as soon as possible (consistent with the object itself,) from the expense of preparations.

This is mentioned to you only as a reason for pressing despatch, as every week is material in the present extent of our preparations, but there is no expense which His Majesty will not readily incur rather than have the object insecure, or in the slightest degree fail, either in the letter or spirit of his engagements. You will observe, that what is now proposed by France seems to point only at an arrangement between that Court and this. It seems however clear that if France at once consents to disarm and to withdraw all interference with a view to Holland, the King of Prussia cannot apprehend any trouble in consequence; but we have nevertheless stated our proposal in words which *expressly* provide for this object under the present impression of vexation and disappointment, naturally occasioned by the success of the Prussian troops. It can perhaps hardly be expected, that the Court of France will immediately come to any direct explanation with the King of Prussia, but his

object, as well as ours, will be obtained, and his interests effectually consulted by what we now propose. And it is for the reasons I have mentioned so material to save time, that I trust you will be able immediately to obtain the consent of the Prussian Ministers, and to send the result to Mr. Grenville.

The withdrawing the interference of France, and the leaving full room for confirming the revolution which the Prussian operations have produced, is so honourable to the King of Prussia, and so satisfactory here, that we are very impatient for its conclusion on the footing I have mentioned.

I am, &c.

CARMARTHEN.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, Sept. 28, 1787.

Sir,—You will observe by the last despatches dated the 25th inst., that the disposition of this Court to cultivate perfect harmony and good understanding with France, remains exactly the same as you have always been instructed to profess it.

The object of saving the people of Holland from being forced out of their Constitution, by the actual impression or menace of a French armament, is one which we had taken up the resolution of maintaining by every possible exertion, and if France had actually thought itself called upon, by any colour of obligation, to carry such a purpose into execution, war must have followed, but, with all the regret on our part which we have never scrupled to avow.

In pursuit of this object, and in consequence of the resolution of France, notified through you, and by M. Barthelemi, Mr. Ewart has been instructed to enter into engagements for co-operating with the King of Prussia, in the measures necessary for defending the States of Holland from foreign force.

From the events which have taken place in Holland, the States have now so nearly resumed that situation

which it was the object of the proposed concert to procure them, that the business of it seems to be over, and France has no longer a motive, or a pretence (if she could be supposed inclined to adopt it contrary to all her professions), for interfering. In that case the disposition of this Court to conciliate heartily with that of Versailles, is cleared of every obstacle and difficulty, and prompts us to embrace, in the most unqualified manner, every measure which may serve to dissipate all appearance of misunderstanding between the two countries.

But the concert in which His Majesty has acted with Prussia, and the proposals which Mr. Ewart has been authorised to make, render it impossible actually to bind ourselves to disarm without a previous communication with that Court, and without understanding that the pacific intentions of the French Court apply to Prussia, as well as to Holland and this country.

The same communication is no less necessary with Holland, and the same expectation of course is entertained of the result of it.

The actual situation of things has enabled us to communicate your idea to Mr. Ewart, as a thing in prospect, together with our opinion, that, so far from prejudicing our common object, it would tend much to forward it.

If the King of Prussia falls into that opinion, as we doubt not he will, Mr. Ewart is directed, in that case, to signify his concurrence to you and Mr. Grenville forthwith, and Sir James Harris has similar instructions. In case of the concurrence of the Court of Berlin, and of our friends in Holland, if you find the Court of France disposed to sign a declaration, or give a formal and ministerial assurance "to desist from her naval preparations, and from all intention to aid any party in Holland, *and from any* other hostile appearance towards any of the Powers who have taken part in this business," you may give assurances, in a similar form, on His Majesty's part, that our

naval preparations shall advance no farther, but shall be reduced to a peace establishment. To sum the matter up more briefly, we are ready to consider that communication as not made, if France is disposed to supersede it, by the agreement of which I am speaking, and to add such words as may apply equally to Prussia. In stating this latter point, you will take care to represent it as one which it is necessary to include in the declaration, in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding, but on which we cannot possibly imagine there can be any doubt or difficulty; as on any other ground, the idea of re-establishing harmony between this country and France must be fruitless.

In the mean time you will not fail to possess M. Montmorin of our views and dispositions, as the same have now been conveyed to you. To extinguish the present jealousy, as soon as the end we have in view has been obtained, is certainly an object which His Majesty's Ministers have much at heart.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,
CARMARTHEN.

P.S.—As it is very material for Mr. Grenville's information, I am to desire you will communicate to him, from time to time, the contents of the despatches which you will receive on the subject of the negotiation with regard to the affairs of Holland: and I enclose you copies of the despatches sent this day to Sir James Harris and Mr. Ewart, to whom I have likewise communicated copies of those now sent to you.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Séve, near Paris, Sept. 28th, 1787.

My Lord,—I received your Lordship's despatch this morning; I immediately communicated it to

Mr. Grenville, and shall pay the utmost attention to the instructions conveyed in it.

Our conferences this day at Versailles were quite conformable to the expressions which I have stated in my late despatches, and I have nothing to add to the account which Mr. Grenville has given of them. Every observation that I could make confirmed me in the opinions which I have already expressed. If the business is not speedily completed, and with circumstances of conciliation; and if the retiring of the Prussian troops should not soon take place, I am greatly apprehensive that this Court will be induced to take steps that, whatever might be its disposition, would necessarily produce a war.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your obedient and humble servant,

WM. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

Séve, near Paris, Oct. 1, 1789.

My dear Sir,—The contents of Lord Carmarthen's last despatch, added to the general circumstances of the moment, and the apparent wish of M. de Montmorin, have altogether decided me to remain here five or six weeks longer, or as soon afterwards as I shall be able to pass the Pyrenees. I must depend on the general course of the winter and on other considerations. This change of plan, with all my domestic arrangements here, which were completed even to the packing up of my trunks, all my arrangements for the road, a vessel with servants in the Thames, a Madrid house, &c., is upon the whole sufficiently inconvenient; but, in truth, I could not have gone at this moment, even if I had had permission, without much disadvantage to the great businesses that are still unsettled. I must trust to you hereafter not to let me suffer materially for my zeal in the service, and particularly so to contrive as

to give me the visit, which I have always projected, for the summer months next year in England. If all ends well as I confidently expect after what passed with M. de Montmorin this day, we shall easily settle this point with the Spanish Ministers.

(Secret.)

I have often hinted to you, that in the midst of all the apparent ill-will between the Courts of Berlin* and Versailles, I nevertheless suspect that there is an understanding, and occasional conferences. I was much confirmed in this suspicion to-day from several circumstances.

It will be a glorious transaction if all this great business ends well; you may attribute it entirely to the spirited activity of your arming.

N.B.—According to the prospect of business which Grenville and I have here, it would be better if any acceptable means could be found to postpone the Duke of Dorset's coming for three or four weeks longer.

I am, my dear Sir,

Respectfully and most sincerely yours,

W. EDEN.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

Downing Street, Friday night, Oct. 2nd, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I hope from your account this morning, we may expect a quiet and good issue to the business. We cannot definitively close without Prussia, but I trust the delay will not be material. I have no idea that the communications from Foreign Courts can be of a very encouraging sort to France.

In the way in which it seems pressed, I do not see how you can decline staying five or six weeks longer, unless some unexpected change of circumstances

* There was a strong party at the Court of Berlin in favour of France, and it required all Mr. Ewart's activity to counteract their efforts.

arises. I write in great haste, and must refer you and Grenville for all particulars to the despatches.

Yours, &c. &c.

W. PITT.

Sir James Harris to Mr. Eden.

Hague, Tuesday, Oct. 2nd, 1787.

My dear Sir,—As I am uncertain whether this letter will still find you at Paris, I shall only add a few lines to my long letter to Mr. Grenville, to thank you for those you wrote me by Needham. I quite adopt the principles you lay down, and shall endeavour to carry the work through here completely and solidly; but in a manner as to be as little grating as possible to the vanity or pride of France. I am much obliged to you for mentioning Capt. Gomm's request to M. de Montmorin; permit me to recommend it once more to your attention.

Health, happiness, and success attend you. My kindest compliments to Mrs. Eden, &c.

Ever most truly and affectionately yours,

J. HARRIS.

The following letter of Mr. Ewart's was written to Mr. Grenville, who was expected by the Prussian Government to remain at Paris:—

Mr. Ewart to Mr. Grenville.

Berlin, 3rd October, 1787.

Sir,—I have the satisfaction to inform you that this Court has agreed to all the proposals I have made, in consequence of my instructions of the 21st ult., with which you are acquainted; and the Prussian messenger, who is the bearer of this letter, carries an order to Count Goltz to announce the arrival of M. d'Alvensleben, who is to act in perfect concert with you in conformity to the principles stated in your instructions in the despatch to Mr. Eden of the

19th Sept., and in the declaration transmitted to me at the same time, all of which have been adopted by the King of Prussia.

M. d'Alvensleben will set out in two days, and in the mean time M. de Goltz is directed to co-operate with you till his arrival. This courier has orders to return as soon as possible to meet M. d'Alvensleben in his way, to make him acquainted, by M. de Goltz's letters, with the situation of affairs at Versailles; and, for the same purpose, his Prussian Majesty has, of his own accord, requested that you would communicate your sentiments to M. d'Alvensleben by the same opportunity, in order that he may be fully prepared.

I believe I may safely venture to assure you, that you will be equally satisfied with the nature of M. d'Alvensleben's instructions, which he will communicate to you, as with his character and dispositions, to which he unites the peculiar advantage of possessing the entire confidence of his master; and after the particulars I have had occasion to mention in my despatches, which I suppose you will have seen, relative to M. de Goltz's* late conduct, I need not add how necessary this special mission is on that account. M. d'Alvensleben is expressly directed to co-operate with you in support of the principles agreed upon between England and Prussia, with a view to ascertain as precisely and expeditiously as possible the real intentions of the Court of France, and to prevail on them, either to sign, without delay, a declaration in conformity to the plan laid down, or to throw off the mask entirely. I shall transmit to you, by M. d'Alvensleben, a copy of the Convention, of which you have the original project, (not choosing to trust it by this opportunity,) and, in the mean time, I enclose the short official answer I received from the Prussian Ministers last night, by which you will see the perfect conformity of sentiments that exists.

* M. de Goltz was a warm partisan of France.

You will have learned from Sir James Harris the result of the last operations of the Duke of Brunswick, and the consequent proceedings at the Hague. I need not mention how impatient this Court is to learn the impression made at Versailles by these decisive events, and particularly by the resolution of the States of Holland, to erase from their journals the request for assistance made to the French Court, and to declare that they have no occasion for it. Neither is it necessary to observe that the King of Prussia, and his Ministers, are of opinion that every thing now depends on the determination taken by France, in consequence of this resolution, and of the overtures you will have made.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem and regard, Sir, your most faithful and most obedient servant,

JOS. EWART.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have seen the despatch, sent by this opportunity to M. de Goltz, and he is expressly directed not to take any steps whatever, nor even to announce the appointment of M. d'Alvensleben, till he has concerted everything with you.

It has likewise been determined by the Prussian Ministers that this courier is to be re-dispatched to meet M. d'Alvensleben, only in case your overtures to the Court of France should not have met with the wished-for success, and consequently, that the offer of an extraordinary mission, on the part of this Court, would be equally fruitless; in which case the King of Prussia is determined to have recourse *immediately* to the most vigorous measures, in conformity to the co-operation established with England.

J. E.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, Friday night, Oct. 3rd.

My dear Sir,—I send a letter respecting M. de Luzerne as you desire. In the ratification of the East India Convention there are two verbal errors, which I imagine may easily be set right; it is returned for that purpose. As to the points in our intended despatch on this business, if they are necessary at all they must be deferred a little. The intentions of France with regard to Holland, Turkey, or this country, seem all undecided. I trust it may yet end well, and we have authorised the only language which at present can be held on the Turkish business. But though we hope for a quiet termination of the business we are prepared fully for the contrary.

Yours sincerely,
W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

Downing Street, Friday night, Oct. 5.

My dear Sir,—Nothing now seems likely to be done quite in the present moment, but I think a very short time may lead to a favourable conclusion. The despatch states all that occurs to us at the present moment, and I am very glad, under all the circumstances, that you have determined to prolong your stay.

The Duke of Dorset, however, actually set out yesterday.

Yours sincerely,
W. PITT.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, October 5, 1787.

Sir, — From the contents of your despatches received this morning, His Majesty's servants are in-

clined to hope, that the Court of France, from a consideration of all the present circumstances, will be inclined to desist from any farther pursuit of the objects which they have aimed at in the United Provinces, and which events seem now to have put out of their reach.

Whenever measures can be taken for the two Courts agreeing to disarm, on the grounds stated in my former despatches, such a step will be acceded to, on His Majesty's part, with the greatest satisfaction. No further instructions, however, can be given you on this subject till an answer is received to our communications to the Court of Berlin.

I do not understand whether, from M. de Montmorin's conversation, he appeared ready to adopt this measure, whenever a proposal should be made for it in the manner you mention; or whether he meant it only when the Prussian troops should have withdrawn.

That event can certainly not be expected to take place till the success of their operations has been completely secured.

But there seems no reason why the expense and jealousy, arising from preparations, should be continued on each side on that account, if the Court of France has really determined to abstain from any actual interference in Holland, and if the measure of disarming has the concurrence of Prussia.

There must have been some mistake in the accounts received at Paris relative to Amsterdam. No final agreement had been made with that city as late as Monday last; but the Duke of Brunswick had made a great progress in his attack, and probably by this time, it has either been taken, or agreed fully to his terms.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

CARMARTHEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Private.) Séve, near Paris.

My dear Sir,—I have nothing to add to what Mr. Grenville will communicate to you. As a sort of mixture for his recollection, we have made a little sketch of what chiefly occurs to us as wanting your immediate consideration and the discussion of your cabinet. If, as I hope, we have carried every solid object, I shall be sincerely sorry if we leave the present dangerous state of preparation in existence an hour longer than is necessary for the sake of some point of etiquette.

If a negotiation arises respecting the Dutch businesses, or any other complicated question, I sincerely hope that Mr. Grenville will return here; at any rate, I am glad to have had this opportunity of knowing him more intimately than I did before. I always knew that both his head and heart were excellent. I have now had occasion during a ten days' residence under the same roof, to see that he possesses all the amiable qualities of private life.

I wish that he may soon draw your attention to the Turkish business. We have various suspicions on that subject, which I could, perhaps, reduce to some certainty, if I had any ground to work upon. As soon as I hear from you, when you have had some conversation with Mr. Grenville, and as soon as we have also heard from Berlin, I shall be able, perhaps, to have some conjecture as to the time of getting away from here. I already almost despair of the weather allowing my family to go till the winter breaks, which happens in that country in January; but I could move earlier, even with my family, as far as Bayonne; and though I feel no great appetite towards a long residence in Spain, I should be sincerely sorry not to go there, and would even desire to go for a short time, as soon as practicable, even if means

could be found of an unexceptionable kind for my remaining here, where, undoubtedly, I might be employed to much better advantage. I ought to go from motives of respect to the Spanish Court as soon as circumstances will allow, though it should be only for a short time: but I wish to go from higher motives, and think it might be material if, at a period when the Courts are in good humour with each other, which, however, cannot be till our *brouilleries* with this Court are adjusted.

I am, my dear sir, respectfully and most sincerely yours,

W. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

Séve, Oct. 6, 1787.

My dear Sir,—Your letter respecting the Chevalier de la Luzerne was justly considered both as a politeness and as an obligation, and M. de Montmorin desired to keep it for a day or two.

I have taken occasion to desire him to give me a copy of the despatch to M. Barthelemi upon the occasion of the Prussian march. The fact is that Barthelemi ought to have given the letter or a copy of it to Lord Carmarthen, as it may possibly be of use to have it for your Parliamentary debates, and as there can be no disadvantage in your having it, because you will of course communicate nothing but what is right to be communicated; I have thought we might as well have the copy.

There was not a moment's hesitation as to excluding the two words in the Indian ratification. I was only sorry to see our worthy old Commis confoundedly *grondé* about it, by M. de Rayneval: the inadvertence was very extraordinary, for M. Gibert had also made the collation. As to me, I confess that I never looked further than to the correction of one verbal error which M. Gibert pointed out. Mr. Grenville will tell you with what degree of

formality, and in what manner, the ratifications were exchanged, for he was at the ceremony.

For the rest I must refer to my despatch by the messenger, which I hope will arrive before you have dispatched instructions to me.

I am, dear Sir,

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

W. EDEN.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, Monday, Oct. 8, 1787.

My dear Sir,—The despatch sent to you to-day contains all that occurs to us on the first consideration of what we learn from Grenville, compared with the last accounts from Holland. The letter from the Chancellor* was written before we had seen Grenville. At all events it is rather meant for your private use, and to suggest topics, than for any other purpose; and perhaps from the degree of soreness which seems now to exist, many of those topics, though naturally arising out of the real situation, cannot be used without great delicacy.

I am, dear Sir, sincerely and faithfully yours,

W. PITT.

P.S.—Notwithstanding what Grenville collected, it is still worth watching very attentively whether there is any foundation for the idea prevalent at Paris, that France meditates a junction with Austria and Russia, instead of supporting Turkey. In stating our sentiments, you will keep in view that France may mean to make use of our communication to our disadvantage with the two Imperial Courts. You may safely, I think, explain, that *our general wish is to take no part;* but, till we see more clearly what France means, we cannot authorise you to declare beforehand that we shall take no part, if France does. At the same time we do not mean to imply that we should take part,

* This seems to have been a second letter of Lord Thurlow.

even in that case, but to leave it open till we know more. The general communication which you can now make will certainly be sufficient to draw some more distinct explanation of their views.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, Oct. 8, 1787.

Sir,—Mr. Grenville arrived late yesterday evening, and brought your despatch No. 99; the former No., 98, was received on Saturday; and His Majesty approved entirely of the ability with which you conducted the conversation which passed between you and M. de Montmorin.

No decisive accounts are yet received from Amsterdam; and as it appears that the accounts, which were communicated to you by the French Government, of the termination of the business there, were erroneous, this circumstance makes it less probable that the discussion between this Court and that of Versailles should be speedily concluded; as, by Mr. Grenville's account, it appears nearly certain that the French Ministers will come to no explanation till the Prussian troops have retired. It is still to be hoped that this interval will not be a long one; and His Majesty still continues earnestly to wish that things should be brought, as speedily as possible, to such a point as may safely admit of disarming on each side, provided the proposal meets with the concurrence of the Court of Berlin. You will, therefore, in that case improve the first opportunity to obtain this object conformably to my former instructions.

I think it necessary only to add that the more the present circumstances are considered, the more clear it is that a declaration to the effect already explained is the only safe and effectual mode that can be adopted. The idea of making France a party to the guarantee, or in any way mixing her in negotiation, farther than is necessary for the simple purpose of disarming, seems more likely (as you observed to

M. de Montmorin) to open points on which a new fermentation and new dissatisfactions may arise. By the late accounts from Berlin, this idea is also perfectly conformable to the sentiments of that Court. You will therefore take every opportunity of discouraging the idea of subsequent negotiation; and I trust you will find no great difficulty in bringing the French Ministers to concur in this opinion.

With regard to the wording of such a declaration, it has been suggested by Sir James Harris* that it should run thus:—"That France agrees to desist from her naval preparations, and from all intention to aid or *support* any party *in the Republic of the United Provinces*, and from any other hostile appearances towards any of the Powers who have taken a part in this business."

My letter to Mr. Grenville, No. 3, which will have reached you since his departure, will have informed you of the sentiments of His Majesty's servants relative to the affairs of Turkey; and if you have an opportunity of conversing farther with the French Ministers on that subject, your language will of course be conformable to what is there stated. Their knowledge of those sentiments may dispose them the more to accede to our ideas in the other important point now depending.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

CARMARTHEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Private.) Séve, October 10th, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I feel rather awkwardly situated till the despatches arrive from Berlin, for I am unluckily in constant intercourse with the French Ministers, which leads me to pass a great part of every day with

* Mr. Eden warmly remonstrated against this suggestion of Sir James Harris.

them. M. de Breteuil, M. de Montmorin, &c. &c., have been sometime engaged to a dinner here to-day, "*d'une tortue accommodée à l'Anglaise.*" M. de Montmorin hinted to me yesterday, whether, in the present undecided state of things, it would be proper for him to come: he said that his own feelings held such objections in great disregard, but that the temper of others was more sensitive: and in the evening, when Mrs. Eden and I went to Madame de Polignac's, the ladies made war upon our whole nation with considerable violence. The Queen was present, and was too polite to seem to hear it, but was exceedingly silent and reserved. Madame de Polignac told me that she could not give it to me here, but that she would write a letter to Spain, to state all the perfidy of England towards a nation that wished to be in friendship with her. I could only desire her to recollect (personally) that, "*les petites brouilleries sont presque toujours suivies des plus étroites amitiés.*" If you had been twenty months in France, you would think these female politics are not immaterial. I am anxious to know whether M. de Montmorin will come.

(Secret.) It has been suggested to me, through a quarter of the first weight, and in a very particular manner, that upon this business ending well, if we wish to make a Treaty of mutual guarantee with this country for the purpose of expressing the joint wish of the two nations to see a state of tranquillity throughout Europe, at least for some years, the measure may not be impracticable; and I have seen, in great confidence, part of a very curious *mémoire*, discussing the question whether France should unite herself closely with the two Imperial Courts, in addition to Spain; or, whether she should not rather sacrifice the feelings of the moment to just policy, and agree with England to maintain, as far as possible, every possession *in statu quo*. This *mémoire* is exceedingly well drawn; it has been read in council, and previous to reading it, I happen to know that some expressions were inserted, very complimentary

to the personal character of the Emperor;* here again female politics enter for something.

The Empress of Russia, as far as I can learn, wishes to avoid the war with the Turks, and to rest upon their returning to the terms of the last peace. The Emperor hesitates about it, and is much impressed by a famous expression of M. de Vergennes, "*Une partition de l'Empire Ottoman n'est pas difficile, mais je ne vois pas la compensation pour Constantinople.*"

I am, my dear Sir, very respectfully and faithfully yours,

W. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Private.) Séve, October 11th, 1787.

My dear Sir,—M. de Montmorin did not come yesterday, but all his family came and Mad. de la Luzerne. He certainly stayed away for the reason to which I alluded. I enclose a copy of his note. You may well conceive that I feel impatient for the close of this business; it can never end more advantageously for us than in the present moment, if the Stadtholder's Government is well and permanently settled.

I am promised an extract† (at least) of the *mémoire* which I mentioned to you yesterday. There is a strong disposition here to believe that it is good policy for this country not to injure the King of Prussia, even if an occasion should present itself, but rather to maintain him as a necessary balance against the Imperial Court. I am told from good authority that the expense of the Dutch Alliance to this Court has, since 1780, been about sixty millions of livres, but the great part of this was by the aid given to the payments made to the Emperor, and by the occasion of preparation when this country was menaced by the Emperor in the course of that transaction, but it is certain that a very small proportion has been given in direct supplies to the interior. There have been *mé-*

* The Emperor Joseph.

† This extract seems to be the minute sent to Mr. Pitt.

moires and discussions about the advantages to be derived from gaining Egypt, &c., but all that project is thought wholly wild.

The Duke of Dorset is arrived and, I believe, dines here to-day.

I am, my dear Sir, faithfully and most respectfully yours,

W. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Grenville.

11th October, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I transmit to you by this conveyance my French *Acte de Commerce de la Mer Noire.* It shows that the French have a very advantageous traffic in that quarter; but we must not forget that much of it will now be in English goods; and, if they will not interfere with our position in the last Treaties, we may composedly see their enjoyment of this trade for which they have some local advantages over us.

I have received from Abbé Rosellet a copy of his *mémoire* on the French East India Company. I am told that it is a curious performance. I will send it next week to England.

Can you send me one or two copies of M. de Calonne's *mémoire?*

Pray read my despatch of this date and expedite matters.

Whilst I am writing I receive your letters and despatches of the 8th instant. It is understood here that Amsterdam is settled amicably though after some resistance. If that should not be the case, certainly the embarrassment might grow great. I foresee no other difficulty. You surely cannot wish* me to attempt to press this Court to sign the words suggested by Sir James Harris. I will write an additional despatch.

Sincerely yours,

WM. EDEN.

* Mr. Eden strongly remonstrated in a despatch against these words, and they were not pressed by the English Government.

Sir James Harris to Mr. Eden.

Hague, Oct. 11, 1787, Thursday, 2 P.M.

My dear Sir,—As I am by no means certain whether you are still at Paris, I have addressed my letter to Mr. Grenville, but it is written full as much to you as to him, and in case he should not be returned, I beg you would open it. I need subjoin to it nothing on public matters, as I have *vidé mon sac.* In regard to private ones, I have scarcely time to recollect their existence, and I can suppose that, although you will leave behind you a thousand pleasant things at Paris, you, on your side will not be sorry to enjoy the quiet and indolence of Spanish life, which, however, I little doubt you will contrive to make one of activity and business.

Pray remember me most kindly to Mrs. Eden, and believe me truly and sincerely, my dear Sir,

Yours most faithfully and affectionately,

J. HARRIS.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

Séve, Oct. 13th, at night.

My dear Sir,—By the despatches which I send this night you will see that our businesses are approximating to the right point in the best manner possible, and I think that the whole will be in such a state of preparation that it may be executed fully to your satisfaction, on hearing from Berlin, even if no further instructions; but I think it possible every hour that I shall receive further instructions, in answer to my letter, which may remove all my anxieties and embarrassments as to the mode. I own to you, that when I remarked yesterday that the "satisfactory assurance not to meddle further in the Dutch broils," which I had recommended, seemed to be expected in the form of a written declaration, it alarmed me exceedingly, but I hope I have explained that sufficiently in my despatches.

If anything should have led Mr. Grenville to visit us again here, be so good as to open the packet which I send to him to-night.

I translated the Chancellor's letter *mot pour mot*, and gave it in confidence to M. de Montmorin, and he took it perfectly in good part, and is to return it to me with an answer. It was an excellent letter.

We are a little embarrassed about the Duke of Dorset, and I shall also be perplexed, perhaps, by letter; but by the help of M. de Montmorin, &c., I shall be able to manage as to the former with all due attentions, and as to the latter, I mean to mark every possible civility.

I am, my dear Sir, respectfully and most sincerely,

W. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Grenville.

Séve, Oct. 13th, 1787.

My dear Sir,—The enclosed were brought by a courier to M. de Goltz, who sent them to the Duke of Dorset's, from whence I received and opened them, and I have taken copy of them for information if necessary. They were clearly written previous to knowing that the business was likely to settle itself without discussing the Dutch constitutions. If, however, you feel disposed to give a meeting to M. d'Alvensleben, I shall be cordially glad to see you, and we are using all possible means to make this large house a little warmer than when you left it. In the meantime I will take care to see M. d'Alvensleben immediately on his arrival, and will say everything to him that I think you would wish; it is possible that he may enable me to bring this matter to an immediate conclusion.

I much doubt whether any delay will arise even if the Prussian forces should not absolutely have evacuated. The disposition to peace here is desired in earnest, if we do not desire too far; and I have great faith in our making a good use of the moment, for it

is no compliment to Mr. Pitt to say that his attention to foreign politics is of the most efficient kind possible, and infinite advantages still remain to be derived from it.

I am, my dear Sir,
Yours most sincerely,
W. EDEN.

P.S.—I had an overturn to-day in coming from Versailles, and broke my carriage very much, but I was not hurt.

CHAP. VIII.

Doubtful State of the Negotiations.—Mr. Pitt desires Mr. Eden to procure intelligence respecting the warlike preparations of France.—In consequence of the taking of Amsterdam, a more peaceful feeling prevails.—The Archbishop of Toulouse reduces the expenses of the Army and Navy.—Angry Letter of Lord Carmarthen.—Mr. Eden's Letter respecting the Déclaration and Contre-Déclaration.—Vexation of M. de Montmorin and M. de Rayneval.—Letter of Mr. Wilberforce.—Discussion respecting the Reduction of the French Navy.—The French Minister signs the Contre-Déclaration.—Opinion of the Duke of Queensberry.—Sir James Harris heartily congratulates Mr. Eden on his success.

THE Duke of Brunswick, who had commenced his campaign on the 13th of September, had succeeded, almost without resistance, in restoring the rights of the Prince of Orange, who entered the Hague on the 20th, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

The French partisans who, under the imposing title of "Patriots," had so long ruled the land, disappeared with astounding celerity. Amsterdam surrendered on the 10th of October.

The States of Holland had recalled their demand for assistance from France, and France abandoned the intention of armed interference. Still the discussions between the Governments of England and France were not at an end.

Mr. Pitt was determined to make France sign a public declaration, announcing that the French Government "had not, and never had, the intention of interfering with an armed force in the affairs of Holland." Also the demand that the French navy should be placed on a peace establishment, still continued.

Mr. Eden had now the chief conduct of the negotiation, although the Duke of Dorset arrived from

England. His Grace's interference in matters of business seems to have been more embarrassing than useful.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

Downing Street, Oct. 15.

My dear Sir,—I wrote two letters to you yesterday, which I withheld for further consideration when the messenger went yesterday, but I send them now as the shortest way of conveying all that occurs.

(Private.) Downing Street, Oct. 14th, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I hardly know what ultimately to expect from the mixture of good sense and ill-humour with which the French seem to think of their present situation. We can do nothing without the concurrence of Prussia as to disarming; but if we receive that, I really cannot comprehend why the French Ministers should continue the farce of not speaking out till the Prussian troops are withdrawn. *Between ourselves*, this latter event will certainly not happen till the force in the Republic is put on such a footing as to leave no risk from their departure. We have sent repeatedly to press all possible expedition in this, but the time is still indefinite. If these delays are got over *in any reasonable time*, it only remains to make the declaration of France, not to interfere in disturbing the present settlement, as clear and binding as possible. Unless this is done *most unequivocally*, the ground on which we actually armed is not removed, and, of course, disarming is impossible. This is the great point, and as to the manner of coming to it, you will see by the despatch, we have no objection to making the first advance, and are desirous of showing all the civility which is certainly wise under such circumstances.

If M. Alvensleben is arrived from Berlin, it will be highly important to show him every mark of attention and confidence, and particularly not to let him conceive any suspicion that we are in *too much*

haste to settle with France. This may be the only way to procure discretionary power from the King of Prussia, which, in some alternatives, may become necessary to expedite the arrangement.

As M. Alvensleben was sent expressly in consequence of Grenville's particular mission, and as there seems no material use in the latter returning to Paris at present, it may be of consequence to explain the cause of his absence.

It will, of course, occur to you that circumstances are much changed since he was originally sent. We then expected a discussion of some detail, in which the knowledge he had acquired in Holland might be very material. Instead of that, things are now brought to the narrow point of the conditions and terms of disarming; and even on that point, if Alvensleben set out at the time expected, we may perhaps have no sufficient instructions, as our communication upon it could scarcely have reached Berlin. Whatever relates to this point, however, you can with truth assure him, you are fully as much prepared to discuss with him as Grenville could be. You will, of course, not fail to impress him with a sense of our steady attention to the interests of Prussia in insisting that France should renounce all hostility in that quarter, as well as in Holland. Even in doing this, however, I need not say that some delicacy is to be used, that we may not seem to think Prussia in a state to fear anything from France, nor assume a tone of taking it under our protection. In short, it will be of great consequence to carry this Minister (who is certainly high in the King of Prussia's confidence) cordially along with you in everything you do.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

WM. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Secret.) Downing Street, Oct. 14th, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I much wish you could procure at *any rate* accurate intelligence of the actual state of the French naval preparations*, the number of ships which may be ready for sea, the extent of their orders, and the probable destination if things take a hostile turn. It may also be possible to procure, from some official channel or other, a copy of any late return of the *effective numbers* of the French troops in all parts;—that for the East and West Indies would be most important. What orders have been given for increasing the land force? All this information may not be very easily obtained, but if it can be had it will be well worth all the pains, &c., which could be bestowed upon it.

Yours sincerely,
W. Pitt.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Séve, near Paris, Oct. 17, 1787.

My Lord,—I yesterday received your Lordship's despatch by the ordinary conveyance, and No. 43 today. I had already felt the importance of having further instructions previous to entering into any agreement relative to disarming, and with that view had forwarded the despatch (by one of my servants), which your Lordship will probably have received a few hours subsequent to the departure of that which I am now acknowledging. In the mean time, the messenger sent by your Lordship on the 28th instant, to Berlin, has not yet appeared here; nor are there any further accounts of M. d'Alvensleben, who was expected at Paris on the 12th instant. I have nothing to add to what I offered respecting the project inclosed in my last despatch.

I took occasion, yesterday, in my conference with

* This will be found in the Appendix.

M. de Montmorin, to revert to the minute which remains in my possession. He appeared to continue not dissatisfied with it; and upon my remarking that whatever form might ultimately be adopted, he must consider it as meant on our part for public discussion, he appeared aware of that circumstance, and received it as a communication of candour. He again lamented our delay, and with considerable earnestness. The conference went into length. He took occasion to tell me that the accounts received of the preparations in England were of a kind which surprised him, as they showed a persevering activity which appearances hardly seemed to call for. He then proceeded to intimate to me that though this Court has received from Spain assurances of their readiness to arm instantly when required, they had not yet been urged, and they do not seem to have made any actual armament. He said, however, that he was harassed greatly because of the correspondence and business with the different naval ports, occasioned by the endeavours to keep pace with our armaments. He spoke of the troops intended for the islands; he repeated expressly that they were only three battalions (as I originally stated in my private intelligence); and he wished me to understand that there was not a man more than was necessary for defence, adding, with a tone of good-humour, that France had not yet brought her feelings to preparations for attack. Upon my asking if troops would be sent at all events, he gave me no decided answer; he again repeated to me that nothing was yet destined for the East; he adverted to the agreement between the two Courts, as an answer to reports which he had again heard of a squadron being fitted out from England, for the Dutch; and I found from a further expression which he used that he had recently perused that agreement. Among the advices given for the fitting out, I am informed that it was strongly recommended to the Ministers to apply the utmost activity in the first instance, and, in consideration of the

season, to the fitting-out and manning of frigates, for the purpose of striking a blow at our trade. And there was, during some days, considerable anxiety about the French West India fleets; but most of the vessels, and all the most valuable, are now said to have escort. The expectation of war has greatly ceased since the taking of Amsterdam*; and this to so singular a degree that M. de Bougainville, at my table, to-day, handed, without scruple, a letter which he received from the Bailli de Suffrein, acknowledging his desire to be employed, and adding, "mais comme on se flatte d'éviter la guerre. Je ne crois pas, monsieur, qu'on peut profiter dans cette occasion de votre zèle et de vos talens."

M. de Montmorin, in talking to me about the capitulation of Amsterdam, gave me occasion to remark (in the view of preventing future difficulties) that it seemed a possible case that the States-General would put a body of troops into that city. He answered that, from what he heard, this might be a precaution possibly useful to all parties, and for the general safety and tranquillity. I then mentioned, in great measure as a matter of inquiry, whether the military establishment of the provinces would be equal for some time to all the necessary services; as, if that should not be the case, it would become necessary for the States to take into their pay, for a time at least, a body of foreign troops.—He answered, that if such a measure should be fairly the act of the States, there could be nothing said against it, but that observers might doubt the good judgment of taking a measure (if it were avoidable) which might foment internal jealousies.

No mention is yet made of M. de St. Priest's proceeding to his post, nor do I think it very immediately probable.

The Empress of Russia's circular declaration relative to the conduct of the Porte was presented

* If Amsterdam had held out, the war party in France would have gained the ascendancy.

yesterday by M. de Simolin to the French Minister. In the course of our conversation, which was subsequent, he mentioned these affairs as engaging particular attention (and I happen to know that they have been recently discussed at the council); and he added, that when those matters should be ripened through communication between the two Courts, he foresaw, with pleasure, that the policy and conduct of France were likely to coincide with the principles maintained by His Majesty.

It still continues to be thought here, that Russia will not be unwilling to accommodate the dispute, upon the Porte making amends for the language which had been used, and for the insult offered to the Russian Minister. This moderation, however, is not attributed to any unwillingness to extend the Russian empire.

The French Ministers believe that Her Imperial Majesty was not indisposed to a renewal of hostilities with the Porte; but not so immediately as the conduct of the Vizier has called for; and it is thought even that the interference of the powers to adjust the quarrel will not be used.

The reductions of the public expenses are going forward here in every department. The Secrétaire d'Etat pour la Guerre has greatly reduced his bureaux; his appointments are reduced from 300,000 livres to 100,000; and he is to have the assistance of a Council or Board. I have, in a former despatch, mentioned to your Lordship that this is also to be done with respect to the Département de la Marine. The Archevêque de Toulouse has also thought it a reasonable policy to subject two departments which have the expenditure, even now, of 160 milliards a year, to some check and control, immediately responsible to him. The Ecole Militaire is suppressed and given to the city of Paris in support of the new hospitals; this is said to be a sum of 1,200,000 livres. It is stated in the "Moniteur" to be done "parceque sa majesté est bien forcée par des besoins impérieux à rechercher scru-

pûleusement tout ce qui peut tendre au soulagement de ses peuples."

I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

WM. EDEN.

M. de Montmorin had assured Mr. Eden and Mr. Grenville that no French officers or soldiers, authorised by the French Government, had entered Holland, although it was notorious that Amsterdam had been supplied with French artillerists; hence the following letter of Lord Carmarthen:—

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Whitehall, Oct. 19, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I own myself at a loss to guess the motives which have induced M. de Montmorin to hold so different a language in his conference with the Duke of Dorset, from what he seems not only to have used to you, but in a manner to have pledged himself to, by the declaration he professed to approve of, and which he appears to have framed in concert with you.

The withdrawing the Prussian troops, it should seem by what he said to the Duke, was a *sine quâ non* to any further mention of Dutch affairs, or even to any discussion of the situation in which the two countries actually stand in consequence of them. In the conversation you held with him, he seemed ready to agree to our disarming *de part et d'autre* upon grounds, I think, perfectly satisfactory to England, though I do not think them very flattering to France, and without any mention being made of the Prussian troops whatsoever; this difference of language I could wish, if possible, to have explained. The favourable opinion I was disposed to entertain of

M. de Montmorin's good faith has, I own, been a good deal staggered by reading over your despatch of September 11th, in which you mention the assurances he gave you in the most direct and positive terms that such French officers and soldiers as might have got into the Republic with a view to assist the patriots, had proceeded merely on their own notions unauthorised, and still less ordered by Government so to do, representing their numbers as inconsiderable, and their consideration in point of force merely the result of calumny, or at least invention.

I happen to be now in possession of the most indisputable proof of the falsehood of these assurances, which I could wish to ascribe to M. de Montmorin being totally ignorant of what orders had been given by the War Department* (however incredible that may appear), rather than impute to him the wishing to impose upon this Court by asserting in so bold and unequivocal a manner what he knew to be directly contrary to the true state of the case.

I mention this circumstance in confidence to you, in order that you may be upon your guard in any future conference, in which the French Minister may make the most direct assertion respecting the future no less than the past conduct of his Court, though I see no necessity at present for giving him the slightest intimation of our having discovered his *mistake* in respect to the circumstance above mentioned.

I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and am ever, dear Sir,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

CARMARTHEN.

Mr. Grenville to Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, Oct. 19th, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I have not had an opportunity before to-day to answer the two letters you have

* M. de Ségur, the late head of the War Department, had given the orders when in office.

been so good as to write me, having been out of town when your last despatches were received. I am much obliged to you for the two volumes relative to the trade of the Black Sea, and the adjoining countries. They seem to me to be highly interesting, and to afford much matter for reflection to this country. It by no means appears from them that anything is wanted on our part besides activity, and the sort of knowledge which this work might furnish, to enable our merchants to engage largely in that very lucrative commerce. I am still uneasy till you have had from M. de Montmorin some direct communication of the line which France is to take on the Turkish business, though the agreeing to a mutual disarming seems to imply a determination not to engage in this affair, otherwise than by negotiation; and surely, if that is the case, what you have already said should be sufficient to set them at ease with respect to our intentions. You will have seen all the nonsense that is circulated in our papers about Cherbourg*, &c. All this, absurd as it is, does not fail to make an impression on the public, and there is considerable ground to fear, that we shall be attacked for having done too little if we conclude the business on the footing of the two declarations. This consideration does not alter the disposition which is entertained here, but it furnishes a strong necessity for our doing it soon, before other ideas have taken too deep a root.

I think it would be a proper attention to M. Alvensleben, if you would have the goodness to say a few civilities to him on my part, to express the great satisfaction which I should have had, if circumstances had allowed me to remain at Paris, and to have had an opportunity of cultivating the acquaintance of a person of his high character. I have sent you two copies of M. de Calonne's *Requête au Roi*, which is praised here beyond any merit which I have seen in it, as far as I have had time to read it.

* The English papers were demanding the destruction of Cherbourg.

Believe me, my dear Sir, most faithfully and sincerely yours,

W. W. GRENVILLE.

P.S.—What has been said on the subject of my not returning, is, that the discussion has been so narrowed by subsequent events, and by the line which France has taken, as to make it quite unnecessary, but, that if other circumstances had arisen to require it I should have gone back. This is what I think would be right to be said to Alvensleben about it.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Private.) Séve, Friday night, Oct. 19th, 1787.

My dear Sir,—If the French Minister should propose to us to sign and exchange the two papers which are now transmitted, you may, perhaps, wonder that in so great a transaction, where in substance we have gained all (perhaps more) than was desired, we risk the delay of five or six days; and I own to you that to my feeling the Contre-déclaration as now proposed is so perfectly satisfactory that I should have thought myself authorised to sign it, *although* the instructions say—1st, "That no possible doubt must remain as to our having the full concurrence of Berlin;" and 2ndly, "That we are authorised to sign only if M. de Montmorin will agree to the amendments suggested from England." Now, as to the first of these points, the Prussian requisition is that "la Cour de France n'interviendra plus, et qu'elle recevra à tout temps." I think that the words we have quoted,—"Que l'intention de cette Cour n'a jamais été et n'est pas de s'immiscer par la force dans les affaires de la République,"—are fully adequate to the whole substance that can with any pretext, or reason, or use, be aimed at in the Berlin expression; but my great object has

been not only to be sure that you were satisfied with it, but that the Court of Berlin will be fully satisfied. M. de Goltz is already secured. This eternal Baron d'Alvensleben! think of his having stopped a week at such a time as this to make speeches at the Court of Dresden, and to be heard there. M. Alvensleben is expected every hour, and I wrote, according to your private suggestion, to give us the great advantage of showing that we were in no hurry till we had used every possible means to ascertain that His Prussian Majesty would be satisfied, and this I wish only to do in the way that you would wish. As to the second point, M. de Montmorin's alterations are not material, and perhaps make the business better; yet, as the whole turn of the instrument varies from that which you last saw, perhaps in so important a point it is material and becoming to submit it once more to His Majesty's Ministers. Have the goodness only in your last instructions not to bind us to the precise form of word if the sense is maintained, because it is always possible that small changes may be suggested even at the last moment. I expect that you may dispatch the messenger on Monday early in the afternoon: if so, he may arrive here early on Wednesday evening, and the business may be finally completed on Thursday, and you will receive it on Saturday evening or Sunday morning. It is already done so effectually that you may safely be slackening expenses, though it may be neither wise nor becoming to say so.

I had another motive: pray tell me about the mode of transmitting these instruments. Upon so important a transaction, in which you have been so successful, it is not immaterial to think in what best way we may present it to the public. It strikes me that we should write a very short joint letter stating in these lines that we have signed and exchanged, pursuant to instructions, the instruments therewith transmitted, and that those papers should all be published in the *Gazette;* but if you think that mode will

too much shock the nerves of this Government, which I earnestly wish to manage as far as is consistent with the solid interest in question, we can write a letter of general expressions, merely saying that we have ministerially exchanged documents respecting the several points in discussion between the two Courts, and in consequence thereof have agreed, pursuant to instructions, to the mutual disarming. In this last way it will not be necessary to publish the papers, with feelings we have blasted; and what is also material, the precise wording of the papers cannot be made the subject of anticipated Parliamentary speeches, but may be kept till the Session opens, to be laid by you before Parliament. Have the goodness to think of this, and to give me your immediate instruction.

You will observe that the words "nulle part" are left out. I did not observe it till to-night. I believe it was accidental. I do not know that they are material: one hostile says as much, but if you think otherwise I can probably get them re-inserted.

Do not quarrel with the words "Une intention dont les motifs n'existent plus:" they were words of my suggestion. They got rid of a diabolical paragraph on which the French Ministers had obstinately insisted, and which would have embarrassed us exceedingly; but, in the words as they now stand, there is certainly no want of bearing and precision, and they cannot imply anything that can give offence to anybody.

I send you my original draft of our conference to-day; though it looks so unintelligible there are many less important papers at the Paper Office. It was up-hill work, and personally very painful to me; for, upon the footing I live with these Ministers, I am quite hurt to see the mortification which they suffer by the whole transaction; it has been so hard on my friend Rayneval, that he has been confined all this week by a fever. M. de Montmorin is calmer and firmer, but he tells me fairly that it requires all

his temper; he sees it in the proper light, but that does not prevent his suffering by it. Can anything be more mortifying to them than the manner in which they desire an assurance that the Prussian troops will go,—or at least that an epoch shall be named,—or at least that they may be taken into pay by the States of Holland, which States they nevertheless consider in private as an usurpation? Apropos to this, we will write fully to Sir James Harris by his courier. I thought it great generalship to bring it forwards to-day.

I have now been employed, either in writing or talking about this same business, and in moulding it to a right shape, during ten or twelve hours in every day during the last three months. In the midst of this, the Duke of Dorset arrives from England, and, in the midst of my anxieties, is perplexing me with his personal jealousies. He confessed to me yesterday that he had written to complain of my not being sufficiently communicative to him; this is grating, and, what is worse, it is embarrassing; to-night he writes to me that he is again well contented, and has written to you to say so: to all which I say nothing; but, nevertheless, it works and plagues me to a certain degree. Have the goodness to remember me to Mr. Grenville. I do not write to him because I have written so fully to you.

I am, dear Sir, yours respectfully and most sincerely,

WM. EDEN.

Mr. Wilberforce to Mr. Eden.

London, 20th October, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I shall not wonder if amidst the many important matters by which your attention has been occupied since your return to Paris, you have forgot a promise you made me at the Archbishop's, that you would take an opportunity of sounding some of the French Ministers concerning their willingness to come

to a mutual agreement with Great Britain for the total suppression of the Slave Trade, by stopping the exportation from Africa, and the importation into the Islands. I need not tell you how much Mr. Pitt is interested for this object, or that one of the strongest arguments against the discontinuance of the traffic would be precluded, if the French adopt a similar resolution. Many reasons induce me to believe that the Cabinet of Versailles will not be averse to the proposition, and Grenville assures me I may build somewhat on the personal character of M. de Montmorin. It will be sufficient at first to throw out the idea; and I shall be much obliged to you, if you will inform me how it is received. I shall, in a very short time, be able to send you something of a digested plan. I will only add, that, if my going over to Paris would be likely to facilitate the object in view, I should cross the Channel with the utmost cheerfulness, and therefore I beg you will tell me your opinion frankly on this head. Perhaps M. de Montmorin is not aware of the barbarity of this horrid trade, in its several particulars: if so, it will be well for you to detail them to him, ever keeping in view, that the great scene of cruelty is not the West Indies, but Africa, which I take the liberty of suggesting, because I really was not aware of it myself, till I had looked into the subject more minutely.

How can I lay down my pen without congratulating you on the glorious manner in which all the late proceedings have been conducted, and on the fair prospect of their admirable termination? I beg you will do me the favour to present my best compliments to Mrs. Eden.

I remain, dear Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

W. WILBERFORCE.

P.S.—All our friends here are well, and, as you may imagine, in high spirits.

Mr. Eden to Mr Pitt.

(Secret.) Séve, near Paris, Saturday, 20th October.

My dear Sir, — Si mon valet-de-chambre ne casse pas son cou (et c'est une affaire dont il est bien capable) ces dépêches vous parviendront demain de bonne heure, and perhaps as soon as those which we sent yesterday. I am vexed a little that I cannot venture to sign to-day, as M. de Montmorin proposes to me, but wish that the changes made should have the sanction of the King's Ministers before we adopt them, notwithstanding that the change proposed includes everything that we can wish or desire. I see many advantages in the five or six days' delay, but it cannot be more at the outside, nor so much if you will re-dispatch my servant before you go to dinner on Monday; in which case I can rely on his being here very early on Wednesday morning, and in consequence of that, you shall have the result without fail, in sufficient time for the "Gazette" on Saturday next.

As soon as I have sealed this letter, I shall go to Versailles to state to M. de Montmorin the best reasons that we can find for not signing to-day as proposed, and, in truth, to make all proper and useful alterations upon this occasion, with Ministers whose conduct, so far as I have concerns with them, has not been merely friendly, but uniformly fair and honourable; and though I have frequently risked opinions in my despatches respecting their intent and future conduct, which opinions were grounded on their private assurances to me, I have never had reason to retract or explain any of those opinions, nor have they tended in any instance to mislead you: besides, I wish to see them almost hourly, till I have your answer, for the circumstances have been very critical, and I wish to pour business into their hands.

And now for the several points which I have in view. By the way, on one of them you will give me a private suggestion; on the others it will perhaps be

necessary to give instructions in the despatch which will be addressed to me jointly with the Duke of Dorset.

1st. Note the mode of writing. I doubt whether it would not be best that we should write a joint letter to Lord Carmarthen, stating what we have done, without making it necessary to publish the instruments till they are laid before Parliament. But of this you will be the best judge; and I wish you would give me an outline of the expressions best to be adopted. I shall not have the slightest difficulty herein. The Duke of Dorset's feelings are *très aimables*, and at present he is (as in truth he has great cause to be) most fully and cordially contented with my conduct towards him.

2nd. As to the Court of Berlin, if anything occurs that may want particular attention, be so good as to suggest it. I expect it would be right to send a messenger to Mr. Ewart upon signing the Declarations; in the meantime I have written a note to M. de Goltz and the Baron de Alvensleben.

3rd. As to Holland: be so good as to tell me how far it would be right to send there. As it so nearly interests the Prince of Orange and our friends there, perhaps Sir James Harris should be immediately informed. I wrote fully to him last night on the state of affairs here, and gave him the copy also in confidence of M. de Montmorin's private letter respecting the Prussian Declarations. You see by the letter which we now send that this Court continues practicable enough as to that arrangement if it should be necessary, and if it is not necessary it will be better avoided.

4th. As to the Court of Spain: circumstanced as I am, and considering more especially all the public circumstances, I conceive that you would wish me to send immediately to Mr. Liston, and perhaps also I shall write a few lines to M. de Florida Blanca*, and shall get M. de Montmorin to do the same. There is not a possibility of my being at liberty here

* The Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

in less than three weeks without detriment to considerations of infinitely more importance; and even if I was at liberty now, there is great doubt whether it would be possible to go in carriages beyond Bayonne.

5th. As to the appointing Commissioners:* you may think about that, and tell me what Lord Carmarthen thinks about it, and how you wish to have it arranged. I received a private note last night from M. de Montmorin, together with his official one, and in the former there was this remark: "Je désire que vous soyez content de ce que je vous envoie. Si vous vous croyez suffisamment autorisé à signer, nous conviendrons de la forme pour le désarmément; vous connaissez ma façon de penser sur nos affaires," &c. &c.

It may be curious to ascertain to what point they had arrived; and good intelligence may be honestly obtained without risking anything on our part that we should not wish to be public. Be so good, however, as to specify to me what you wish, and I will manage it.

6th. In order to avoid all tricks and stock-jobbing from this country, which was carried to a great extent at the last peace by the bankers connected with the Ministers, you will do well, as soon as you have determined to accept the two instruments, to let it be gradually known, or transpire through England that the disarming is become exceedingly probable.

I do not recollect any other particulars, but will send all that occurs to me at the time, if possible, of the departure of this courier, early on Wednesday; and, with cordial congratulations on present appearances,

I am, my dear Sir,
Respectfully and most sincerely yours,
WM. EDEN.

* It was proposed to appoint naval officers, to see that the reduction of both navies took place.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

Downing Street, October 22nd, 1787.

My dear Sir,— The Duke of Dorset has sent over a complaint that M. de Montmorin has taken an impression of his not being in the confidence of Government, and the Duke seems also hurt at having been in our late despatches referred to you for instructions. This last point was certainly a failure of etiquette, and it would have been better to have addressed the instruction jointly to both of you. I have written to them to explain, and have assured them with perfect truth that he is fully and confidentially informed of our real sentiments and wishes, and that the instructions to you were meant equally for his information. I have, at the same time, stated to him the necessity of his acting both in apparent and real concert with you for the public service; and I mention these particulars, because it may enable you to prevent any awkwardness or embarrassment which might be prejudicial to the affairs depending.

By our accounts from Berlin dated the 9th, you ought to have heard from them even before your last despatch, and there is reason to expect that Prussia will have concurred entirely in our proposal to disarm. I wait most impatiently to hear from you again.

I am, my dear Sir, most faithfully and sincerely yours,

W. Pitt.

P.S.—The interesting and singular communications contained in your last despatches shall be kept with the caution you desire. I wish, if you are at liberty, you would let me know, in confidence, how the minute came into your hands.

The following seems to be an extract of the minute alluded to in Mr. Pitt's letter. Unfortunately, Mr.

Eden's despatches at this time are almost illegible. It is a most able document, showing the advantages of an "entente cordiale" between France and England.

(Extract.)

Peut-être se permettra-t-on de dire que le Cabinet de France a pressé un peu trop vivement les mouvemens du parti qui devoit se borner à réduire l'influence du Stathoudérat, et qui a, trop inconsidérément, développé le projet de le détruire, quoiqu'on sent en général combien il est malaisé d'assujetir et de régler les mouvemens des enthousiastes républicains.

Ce défaut de calcul a été saisi par les Cours de Londres et de Berlin, quoique mues, en faveur du Prince d'Orange, par des motifs très différens. Un coup de main, provoqué par une circonstance de bien peu d'importance en elle-même, a décidé du sort de la Hollande; et l'entrée des Prussiens y a produit une terreur si panique, que peu de jours ont suffi pour la remettre sous l'influence stathoudérienne, comme elle y étoit auparavant.

Cependant les actes subsistent: c'est-à-dire, que le traité d'alliance entre la France et la Hollande n'est point anéanti. Cette République ne fera probablement pas à la France l'outrage gratuit et inconsidéré de lui en dénoncer la rupture, surtout après l'avoir prévenue, par une déclaration formelle, du rétablissement de sa tranquillité intérieure; l'avoir remercié momentanément des secours qu'elle étoit dans le cas de lui demander; et après avoir prié le Roi de lui conserver sa bienveillance. Tout ce que les sentimens particuliers du Prince d'Orange peuvent opérer se bornera, sans doute, à provoquer le renouvellement de l'alliance de la Hollande avec l'Angleterre; d'où il résultera que la République se trouvera comme enveloppée d'actes pacifiques, et à portée de rester neutre ou de choisir, en cas de crise, à laquelle des deux Puissances il lui conviendra mieux de se livrer: question qui ne se décidera probablement pas sans renouveler de grandes

contradictions dans son intérieur et sans l'exposer à de grands malheurs.

Mais, pourquoi deux Puissances, telles que l'Angleterre et la France, occuperoient-elles ainsi les efforts de leur politique en de vains débats, pour décider à laquelle des deux la Hollande appartiendra désormais, par les liens d'une alliance plus ou moins étroite, tandis qu'une scène plus vaste, et bien plus importante, est prête à s'ouvrir vers le Levant, et qu'un empire qui est le centre où aboutissent trois parties du monde est, peut-être, sur le point d'être démembré et partagé entre deux Puissances, dont les forces pesent et peseront encore plus fortement sur la balance générale? Il n'est pas plus de l'intérêt de l'Angleterre que de celui de la France de voir cette grande révolution s'opérer, et l'on doit croire que si elles pouvoient s'accorder ensemble, pour y mettre un obstacle commun, l'empire Turc pourroit encore conserver longtemps sa nullité centrale et continuer de nourrir l'inquiétude des deux voisins, qui se préparent à l'envahir. N'est-il pas temps que l'Angleterre et la France aperçoivent que dans leurs divisions funestes elles ne font que répandre et faire sortir de leur sein les richesses que leur commerce et leur industrie leur procurent pendant la paix? Ne voient-elles pas, depuis longtemps, que les guerres dont l'Europe est trop souvent déchirée, n'aboutissent qu'à faire circuler leurs trésors dans les mains des peuples qui leur vendent le secours de leurs armes? Faut-il enfin que ce soit une nécessité dans les choses de la balance humaine, que leurs progrès soient sans cesse arrêtés et qu'à des époques marquées par leur propre aveuglement, elles restituent, en quelque sorte, aux nations dépourvues de l'énergie commerciale, les tributs que les besoins de ces mêmes nations leur ont apportés?

Les limites de leurs possessions, et de leur commerce dans toutes les parties du monde, sont à peu près fixées, aucune nation ne peut et ne doit désormais se flatter d'envahir le commerce universel; et

s'il étoit possible qu'un pareil événement arrivât, l'excès de ses propres richesses précipiteroit sa chute.

A l'Angleterre paroît devoir appartenir la plus grande partie du commerce de l'Inde; puisque le besoin qu'elle s'est créé, d'une denrée que la Chine seule fournit, est si excessif que toutes les ressources de son industrie ne parviendroient pas à l'acquitter, si elle étoit réduite à la recevoir des mains d'une nation rivale.

A la France sont dévolus au contraire des spéculations plus voisines et d'un exercice plus commode. Par exemple, appelée par sa situation au commerce du Levant, ses avantages naissent de l'inertie des peuples engourdis qui habitent ce fortuné climat; et c'est ainsi qu'une juste compensation semble s'établir naturellement entre les premières nations commerçantes et industrieuses.

De ce principe il résulte, que l'intérêt réel de l'Angleterre et de la France se rencontre dans le maintien de l'équilibre actuellement établi, et que tout système qui tend à le rompre ne fera que les jeter hors de leurs mesures, et doit être méconnu et proscrit par elles. Seroit-il donc impossible de faire revivre les heureuses époques marquées dans le siècle dernier par leur union? et seroit-ce une dérision aujourd'hui de rappeler les temps de Henri IV, de la reine Élisabeth et de Cromwell, et des ministères des Cardinaux de Richelieu et Mazarin, pour faire marcher d'un pas égal et dans un concert aussi éclairé que bien entendu la considération politique et l'influence commune des deux premières nations du monde? On ne se dissimule assurément pas que, si ces heureux systèmes ont pu être rompus par les événemens, il seroit malaisé de se flatter que leur renouvellement obtînt une éternelle durée. Il n'est ni dans le caractère, ni même dans la destinée des hommes, d'être si sages: la tendance de leurs passions réciproques ne sauroit leur permettre d'espérer que les effets d'une prudence éphémère; mais c'est toujours beaucoup que d'en obtenir ces résultats passagers; ils

font au moins le bonheur de ceux qui vivent dans ces années de lumière et de modération.

On sent assurément à quel point il est difficile de se flatter de faire descendre inopinément, dans le même bassin de la balance générale, deux Puissances qui viennent de se choquer aussi rudement dans leurs mouvemens politiques que l'Angleterre et la France viennent de le faire, relativement aux affaires de la Hollande. Chacun craint en général d'ébranler la confiance de ses alliés; et peut-être la France a-t-elle, en cette occasion, des sacrifices d'amour propre et d'autres encore assez difficiles à faire; tandis que rien au contraire ne paroît gêner la politique Anglaise. Mais enfin, une inversion de système aussi prononcée ne sauroit être l'ouvrage d'un moment. Aussi ne se permet-on ici d'indiquer que de simples approches. On ne dissimulera pas même, en raison de ces circonstances actuelles, que c'est à l'Angleterre à en faire les ouvertures, et que la délicatesse, autant que la dignité de la France, dans ce moment-ci, ne sauroient lui permettre de se livrer à des insinuations que le succès récent du Cabinet Britannique le met, à bien des égards, à portée de hasarder le premier, sans se compromettre. On ose donc présumer qu'il ne s'agiroit provisionnellement que de proposer un concert de bons offices auprès des cours impériales, pour le maintien de l'état des choses dans le Levant, d'en employer de plus forts, de plus tranchans, et de plus efficaces à la Cour Ottomane, pour la disposer à rentrer dans les bornes de ses traités avec la Russie, et de consolider cet accord pacifique par la garantie des deux Puissances médiatrices. Cet acte de conciliation assurera, du moins pour quelques années, la tranquillité du Levant; et éloignera les projets de l'ambition qui, une fois mise en mouvement, est si difficile à ramener dans de justes limites; il assoupira l'effervescence prête à s'exalter, et les liaisons commerciales, par lesquelles l'Angleterre et la France se sont récemment unies, auront le temps d'échauffer les rapports des deux nations, et de leur faire sentir des convenances

réciproques qui finiront, peut-être, par leur rendre la possession exclusive de l'amitié de la Hollande beaucoup plus indifférente.

The French Government still seemed very unwilling to reduce their navy. All sorts of excuses were brought forward, and M. de Montmorin had informed Mr. Eden that the navy was being remodelled on "a new system."

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Secret.) Downing Street, Wednesday, Oct. 24th, 5 P.M.

My dear Sir,—Your messenger did not arrive till early yesterday morning; and, from an accidental delay in assembling the Cabinet, we could not return our answer sooner.

We have suggested a few alterations, apparently slight, and certainly unobjectionable if the business is meant to be settled completely, but in substance of great importance, and such as we cannot dispense with. The two points I refer to, we thought secured by our former project, though, perhaps, they were not as distinctly expressed as they ought; but they would be lost by the alterations made by M. de Montmorin.

These points are, that *the disarming should fairly extend to land as well as sea*, and that the naval peace establishment should *be replaced on the footing it was on before the late jealousies*. There is no fair or tenable ground on which the French Government can object to either of these propositions; and it is essential for us that they should be expressed as distinctly as is now proposed.

If M. de Montmorin should seriously entertain the idea of new modelling the naval establishment hereafter, nothing that is done now will preclude it. But it would at any time probably lead to much discussion. At present it would either make the disarming wholly vague, and perhaps nugatory; or it must lead to an explanation of the new arrange-

ments to be taken on each side, which must postpone for a long time, and perhaps risk, the ultimate success of the settlement now so near completed. This ground seems so strong, that I persuade myself, if the disposition in France is really fair, it cannot be contested, and, therefore, I think I may almost congratulate you on the safe conclusion of this important work. I have no doubt that you would make no alteration of words that we should have any reason to regret; but, in an instrument that is to be so much canvassed, it is felt impossible to give a latitude in anything that can in the smallest degree vary the sense; and nothing else could be much worth altering.

On the first of the six points in your last letter, I believe it is unavoidable to publish immediately the Declarations themselves. It will not be, at any rate, more than a fortnight sooner than they would be laid before Parliament. This makes the terms of your letter, when you send them over, of less consequence. Let me remind you that it is absolutely necessary to send us over, at the same time, a copy of the first notification read by Barthelemy. As it is referred to in these instruments, we must have it in the office, and you should obtain it before the Declarations are exchanged. As to the three next points, you should, clearly, send to Berlin, the Hague, and Madrid, as soon as the business is concluded. As to the fifth, respecting Commissaries, much the best mode is what we have already suggested—an understanding that an officer on each side will be admitted in the principal ports, who may have a private letter stating who he is, from the Secretary of State, the Marine Minister, or whoever else is thought best. As to the sixth, I shall make no secret from this time, that, although the disarming is not absolutely settled, I think it very probable. Nothing further occurs to me at present, and I am in great haste.

I am, dear Sir,

Most sincerely yours,

W. PITT.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, October 24th, 1787.

Sir,—I observe, by your despatch, that M. de Montmorin has thrown out to you, in conversation, an idea of putting the peace establishment of France on the same footing with our guard ships. He stated this, however, as only floating in his own mind, and said that he had not communicated it to the other Ministers of France. Nor does it clearly appear, from the expressions of your letter, whether M. de Montmorin's idea was to increase the number of the ships which France was to keep in commission, and in a state of preparation, so as to equal that of our guard ships; or whether he means only to keep up the same number as before, but to put them exactly on the same establishment with our guard ships. The latter idea, perhaps, would be reasonable as a subject of future arrangement; and there might be no objection to our giving the necessary information for that purpose. But with respect to increasing the number of their ships to be maintained in a state of preparation equal to that of our guard ships, such a measure, if it is seriously in contemplation, must, probably, lead to an increase of our peace establishment, considering all the circumstances of the situation of the two countries.

I trust that, as this idea was only thrown out to you in conversation, you will be able to prevent its being at all resorted to again, and for that reason this letter is addressed to you separately; and the terms of the declaration are so drawn as to point expressly to the peace establishment as it stood at the commencement of the year. But if you should perceive that M. de Montmorin again reverts to this idea, you will communicate this letter to the Duke of Dorset; and you will concur with His Grace in representing, in the strongest terms, against a resolution which is so likely to lead the two countries to great additional

expense, without being productive of any relative advantage to either. You will observe that, in stating any alteration of a peace establishment, even as a case to be supposed, I refer only to measures to be hereafter taken, as the King's servants consider it as a *sine quâ non*, that, in the present moment, the disarming should be carried into effect precisely on the footing on which the navies of the two countries stood previous to their beginning to arm; and this, it is conceived, cannot, at all events, be objected to by M. de Montmorin, as it will leave any subsequent arrangements (if any such should, on further consideration, be thought necessary) open at any time to further discussion; and, as the introducing such a discussion at the present moment must obviously retard and impede a settlement, which it is so much the interest of both countries to accelerate.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

CARMARTHEN.

Duke of Dorset and Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Versailles, Oct. 27th, 1787, 11 P.M.

My Lord,—We have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the Déclaration which we this day signed at Versailles, and delivered to M. le Comte de Montmorin, and the Contre-déclaration, which was at the same time signed by him to us, and also the duplicate of a joint Declaration which was afterwards settled and exchanged.

We beg leave to accompany these papers with our congratulations on a transaction which tends to cement and strengthen the amity subsisting between the King and his Most Christian Majesty, and to prolong the blessings of peace to their respective subjects.

We have the honour to be, &c.,

DORSET.

W. EDEN.

Duke of Dorset and Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Versailles, October 27th, 1787, P.M.

My Lord,—The French Minister, after some reluctance and discussion, consented to all the alterations and additions which we were instructed to propose to him, in the projects of the Déclaration, and Contre-déclaration. And though he proposed some corrections on his part, he did not adhere to them; nor is there the change of a syllable in what was last transmitted to us by your Lordship; except, that instead of the words, "les armemens et tous préparatifs de guerre," it now stands, "les armemens et *en général* tous préparatifs de guerre," which, as he seemed to wish for the accuracy of the language, and as it made evidently no difference in the sense, we consented to admit.

We did not neglect to mention very specifically, conformably to the remark in your Lordship's separate letter, that we understand "that the troops which have been sent to the coast of France on the present occasion, (with the exception only of such as may, even in case of peace, be intended to be embarked for the French possessions abroad,) should be withdrawn into their ordinary stations; and likewise, that no extraordinary number of troops should be collected towards the frontiers of the United Provinces." To this M. de Montmorin gave a ready and positive assurance that it would be done speedily and satisfactorily; that France could have no interest to the contrary; and that the conduct of this Government would be in every respect *de bonne foi.*

He said that this was not the moment to enter into any new proposition relative to the naval force establishment, or to propose changes which might occasion uneasiness or delay: but that it was much his wish, as the best means of preventing all jealousies, to put the French navy, in time of peace, upon the same footing as that of England in all respects; that he believed the peace establishment of this country had

consisted of seventeen ships in a greater or less state of readiness, as circumstances from time to time seemed to require; that he did not believe it to have been inferior to the British establishment as we seemed to suppose. We intimated as strongly as the moment would allow, that any innovation in this business might occasion new uneasiness and mutual expense. He answered, that he certainly entertained the idea, but would make it the subject of previous communication and amicable discussion; and in the meantime it was fair to return to the epoch which we had proposed.

He took the occasion to advert, with some earnestness, to a report of French artillery officers having been taken in Holland, with instructions, or *rapports*, from this Court. He said that he had taken particular pains to inquire about the fact; that he could find no trace of it in the War Office, that possibly something of the kind may have been done by M. de Verac; but he solemnly declared that he had no knowledge of it.

He approved of the mode of ascertaining the disarming, merely by a letter to be given by your Lordship to him; and by one from him to you, to be delivered by the person or persons employed. He wished to name on each side a *chef d'escadre* and a *capitaine de vaisseau.*

We wait for M. de Montmorin's return from Council to close this despatch, and

Have the honour to be, &c.,

DORSET.

W. EDEN.

P.S.—M. de Montmorin, on his return from Council, having remarked to us that the word "*convien-droit,*" in the Declaration (which, making part of a conditional proposition, could not be made more definitive) leaves the transaction incomplete on our part, though completed on the part of France; we

agreed that the just and best expedient was to state the agreement to disarm in a third instrument, jointly signed, and referring to the two preceding instruments.

DÉCLARATION.

Les événemens qui ont eu lieu dans la République des Provinces Unies ne paraissant plus laisser aucun sujet de discussion, et encore moins de contestation, entre les deux Cours, les Soussignés sont autorisés de demander, si l'intention de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne est de donner des suites à la notification faite le 16 du mois de septembre dernier, par le Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, qui, annonçant qu'on donneroit des secours en Hollande, a occasionné les armemens maritimes de la part de Sa Majesté; lesquels armemens sont devenus réciproques.

Si la Cour de Versailles est disposée à s'expliquer sur cet objet, et sur la conduite à adopter vis-à-vis de la République, d'une manière conforme au désir, qu'on a témoigné de part et d'autre, de conserver la bonne intelligence entre les deux Cours; et toujours entendu aussi qu'il n'y a aucune vue d'hostilité nulle part, en conséquence de ce qui s'est passé; Sa Majesté, toujours empressée de concourir avec les sentimens amicals de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, conviendroit avec elle, que les armemens, et en général tous préparatifs de guerre, seroient discontinués, de part et d'autre, et que les marines des deux nations seroient remises sur le pied de l'établissement de la paix, tel qu'il existoit au premier janvier de la présente année.

DORSET.
WM. EDEN.

A Versailles, le 27 octobre 1787.

CONTRE-DÉCLARATION.

L'intention de Sa Majesté n'étant pas, et n'ayant jamais été, de s'immiscer par la force dans les affaires de la République des Provinces Unies, la communication faite à la Cour de Londres, le 16 du mois dernier, par Monsieur Barthelemi, n'ayant eu d'autre objet que d'annoncer à cette Cour une intention, dont les motifs n'existent plus, surtout depuis que le Roi de Prusse a fait part de sa résolution; Sa Majesté ne fait aucune difficulté de déclarer, qu'elle ne veut donner aucune suite à la déclaration ci-dessus mentionnée, et qu'elle ne con-

serve nulle part aucune vue hostile, relativement à ce qui s'est passé en Hollande. En conséquence, Sa Majesté, désirant de concourir avec les sentimens de Sa Majesté Britannique, pour la conservation de la bonne harmonie entre les deux Cours, convient avec plaisir, avec Sa Majesté Britannique, que les armemens, et en général tous préparatifs de guerre, seront discontinués, de part et d'autre; et que les marines des deux nations seront remises sur le pied de l'établissement de la paix, tel qu'il existoit au premier janvier de la présente année.

LE CTE. DE MONTMORIN.

A Versailles, le 27 octobre 1787.

En conséquence de la Déclaration et Contre-déclaration échangées ce-jourd'hui, les Soussignés, au nom de leurs Souverains respectifs, conviennent que les armemens, et en général tous préparatifs de guerre, seront discontinués, de part et d'autre; et que les marines des deux nations seront remises sur le pied de l'établissement de la paix, tel qu'il existoit au premier janvier de la présente année.

DORSET.
WM. EDEN.
LE CTE. DE MONTMORIN.

A Versailles, le 27 octobre 1787.

Translation of the Declaration and Counter-declaration which were respectively signed and exchanged at Versailles, on the 27th of October, by His Grace the Duke of Dorset, His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the Right Honourable William Eden, His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, on the part of His Majesty; and by the Count de Montmorin, His Most Christian Majesty's Minister and Secretary of State, having the department of Foreign Affairs, on the part of His Most Christian Majesty.

DECLARATION.

The events which have taken place in the Republic of the United Provinces appearing no longer to leave any subject of discussion, and still less of contest, between the two Courts, the undersigned are authorised to ask whether it is the intention of His Most Christian Majesty to carry into effect

the notification made on the 16th of September last, by His Most Christian Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, which, by announcing that succours would be given in Holland, has occasioned the naval armaments on the part of His Majesty, which armaments have become reciprocal.

If the Court of Versailles is disposed to explain itself upon this subject, and upon the conduct to be adopted towards the Republic, in a manner conformable to the desire which has been expressed on both sides, to preserve the good understanding between the two Courts; and it being also understood, at the same time, that there is no view of hostility towards any quarter, in consequence of what has passed; His Majesty, always anxious to concur in the friendly sentiments of His Most Christian Majesty, would agree with him that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, should be discontinued on each side, and that the navies of the two nations should be again placed upon the footing of the peace establishment, as it stood on the 1st of January of the present year.

DORSET,
Versailles, 27th October, 1787. WM. EDEN.

COUNTER-DECLARATION.

The intention of His Majesty not being, and never having been, to interfere by force in the affairs of the Republic of the United Provinces, the communication made to the Court of London on the 16th of last month by Monsieur Barthelemi, having had no other object than to announce to that Court an intention, the motives of which no longer exist, especially since the King of Prussia has imparted his resolution; His Majesty makes no difficulty to declare, that he will not give any effect to the Declaration above mentioned; and that he retains no hostile view towards any quarter relative to what has passed in Holland. His Majesty, therefore, being desirous to concur with the sentiments of His Britannic Majesty for the preservation of the good harmony between the two Courts, agrees with pleasure with His Britannic Majesty that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, shall be discontinued on each side; and that the navies of the two nations shall be again placed upon the footing of the peace establishment, as it stood on the 1st of January of the present year.

LE CTE. DE MONTMORIN.

Versailles, 27th October, 1787.

In consequence of the Declaration and Counter-declaration exchanged this day, the undersigned, in the name of their respective sovereigns, agree that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, shall be discontinued on each side, and that the navies of the two nations shall be again placed upon the footing of the peace establishment, as it stood on the 1st of January of the present year.

DORSET,
W. EDEN,
LE CTE. DE MONTMORIN.

Versailles, October 27th, 1787.

Mr. W. W. Grenville to Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, Oct. 26, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I think I may now congratulate you upon the conclusion of this important business, which has employed so much of our time and thoughts for the last six months. It ends in a manner which I think cannot but do credit to all who have been engaged in it.

Dundas and myself have both tried separately to obey your commands about the despatch to India, and are both of us obliged to confess our inability to make any extract of that letter for the purpose you desire. The whole of it seems to us to relate equally to the privileges to be granted to the French commerce, and the conduct to be held towards that nation by our Government; nor do we see any reason why any one part should be selected from the rest as more proper to be sent to the French factories. As it is possible that you may not have a copy of it, I enclose one, from which you will make any selection that may seem to you to be right. It is surely of great importance that there should be in the Office some regular notification of your having communicated the despatch *in extenso* to M. de Montmorin, and of his intention of sending it to the Isle de France.

We have hitherto omitted publishing the Convention, but shall do it as soon as the other business

is terminated. In the meanwhile it is totally forgotten by the public here, and their curiosity is as dead on the subject as if no such paper had ever existed.

Believe me, dear Sir,
Most faithfully and sincerely yours,
WILLIAM GRENVILLE.

P.S.—This letter was written to go a few days ago. Since that we have received the Declaration and Counter-declaration, on which I congratulate you most sincerely. They seem to be generally approved here, except by the Duke of Queensberry, who says that our compelling France to sign such a paper is a proceeding unheard of between civilised nations, and is not treating them like gentlemen. I was really mortified at seeing the papers, &c., which were taken in Holland, as I had given credit to M. de Montmorin for at least believing what he said on the subject. The papers from the Marshal de Segur, *and signed with his name*, are by no means formal papers, but are instructions for parties of the Artillery to draw, secretly and in small bodies, towards the frontiers, and then put themselves under the orders of M. d'Esterhazy. His orders again expressly direct the march into Holland *in disguise*, and point out the places where the men are to be equipped with their *habits de paysan* for that purpose. I never doubted the thing, having had what I thought indisputable proof of it when I was in Holland, but I really did believe that it was done by subalterns, and that it was not consistent with the dignity of any minister of rank to take such a step, and afterwards to disavow it in the terms which were used both to you and me.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Morton Eden.

Séve, near Paris, Oct. 28th.

My dear Morton,—This letter will arrive after a longer interval than has been usual in our corre-

spondence. To confess the truth, I have been during some weeks too anxious respecting foreign politics to pay due attention to private friendships and domestic attachments. You know, I believe, that the Ministers in England had given me my letters of recall, and a power to proceed to Spain, above six weeks ago, provided that the state of affairs should satisfy me here that it was expedient. At that very moment the late fermentation arose, and I determined to see the end of it and it has carried me so late into the autumn, or rather to the winter, that I begin to doubt whether I must not postpone all thoughts of going further till after Christmas.

In the mean time, thank God, all the businesses are ended happily, and in a way that, I hope, will do great and lasting credit to the wisdom and just principle of both Governments. Yesterday evening, the Duke of Dorset and I signed and delivered to the Comte de Montmorin a Declaration, asking this country to state "Whether any effect was to be given to the notification of the 16th September, of an intention to arm; what conduct is meant to be observed as to Dutch affairs; and whether hostile views are maintained towards any party concerned in the late transactions;" and declaring a disposition (if the answers should be satisfactory) to disarm. M. de Montmorin, at the same time, signed and gave to us a Contre-declaration, stating "That France has no intention to interfere by force in the affairs of the Republic; nor any view to give effect to the said notification of which the motives no longer exist; nor any hostile views anywhere, &c.;" and professing the same readiness to return to the pacific system. We then signed a joint Declaration and Convention to disarm; and the orders for that purpose will be given instantly and completely, in both countries, by sea and by land; and there is so much good sense among the leading Ministers on both sides that I much hope to see a cordial good understanding at length established.

As it happened to me to have the whole detail of this negotiation in my hands, and to act in it in a way that cannot but be personally satisfactory to this Court—though, from various circumstances, some parts of the result must be unpleasant here,—I cannot regret the having stayed. I conceive that you may continue to direct to me here, though I am as yet quite undecided as to my motions and plans, but it is most probable that I shall remain here to the beginning of February.

I shall write again to you to-morrow night by a courier whom M. d'Alvensleben is sending to Berlin, and the letter will be forwarded from Leipsig. I am sorry for the loss of Ferguson. Willey is here, and at present employed under Mdlle. de Sillery (Genlis) to read every day with the young Princes of Orleans. He is Irish by birth; but he would do if you cannot suit yourself in Holland, for he writes both French and English exceedingly well, and a good hand; according to all that I have heard his character is irreproachable. He was bred to the bar. I do not believe that he has more than 60*l.* a year from Mdme. de Genlis.

We are quite glad to hear that Lady Elizabeth is well enough to go to Dresden, but we are afraid of the winter air for her. Our love to her.

Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Whitehall, Oct. 30, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I received your two private letters by Mayor this morning, and am infinitely obliged to you for your kind attention to my recommendation of my friend Dr. Jackson's son, which the young man, however, could not profit of, on account of Major Mitchell's sudden return to England, whom he accompanied home.

I sincerely congratulate you on the event of the 27th. I must confess myself totally at a loss to

account for the French Minister consenting to sign the Contre-declaration; that, however, is his concern and not ours. We have printed the translation of the three papers (*totidem verbis*) in the *Gazette* of to-night. The Contre-declaration, referring to Barthelemi's communication, and the King of Prussia's resolution, certainly appears vague and unsatisfactory. I do not, however, imagine it to be an object worthy of M. de Montmorin's attention to have either of those documents published, as certainly they would not contribute much to the honour of his Court, however they might contribute towards enlightening the coffee-houses.

With respect to Holland, I think we have scotched the snake, not killed it. The French are still at work there; and, however M. de Montmorin's personal character may entitle him to credit, I cannot but think the utmost attention necessary to his ministerial one. We must be upon our guard, and it will give me great pleasure to find that any distrust I may entertain of that Minister's political good faith should be ill-founded, and without any real cause (*in future*) to justify it.

There is one subject to which (most confidentially) I must entreat you to direct your utmost attention: I mean the part which France means to act with respect to the differences between Russia and the Porte. At the same time that your acquaintance with the French Ministers, and the confidence with which they seem to distinguish you, render it a more easy task for you than any other person to sound their disposition on the subject, your own sagacity must point out to you how desirable it is for us to collect, as far as possible, their sentiments respecting it before we hazard a word of official correspondence which might be turned against us at either of the Imperial Courts, or which might in any degree appear to commit this Court in the event of hostilities being continued to any serious degree.

The armaments at Toulon may have a particular view, independent of the general preparation. The Spanish ships I have this day heard of being seen between Cadiz and Cape St. Mary, may likewise be ordered round to the eastward; and I cannot say I should much regret at hearing the Turkish mission at Madrid had produced something more substantial than the bare compliment of magnificent parade, with which I understand the Mahometan Minister was received at his public audience of the Catholic King.

I have nothing to add on the subject of my last private letter, as I flatter myself the cause of it exists no longer, and I am sure you will agree with me in wishing it to be forgotten.

Believe me ever, dear Sir,

Your very faithful humble servant,

CARMARTHEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. George Rose.

Seve, 1st Nov. 1787.

My dear Sir,—*Enfin, je respire*—I suspect, by the by, that you must have occasionally breathed hard in the course of the transaction: it is, however, a glorious story, and Mr. Pitt may laugh at the attacks which will be made upon it, instead of thinking that he has not forced this country far enough, which will be the tone of some of the attacks upon him. I own to you, soon after I saw that his measure was likely to have full success (and I saw it rather early too), I shuddered at his courage, for I do not know any foreign object, not even the recovery of the Dutch Provinces from France, which, in my opinion, would compensate to England the probable calamities of a war, before she is recovered from the effects of the last war. He is right, perhaps, in having formed a different opinion; and when he had formed it, nothing could be wiser than the spirited and decided manner in which he enforced it. I found it quite pleasant to negotiate under the cover of such formidable exer-

tions as Mr. Pitt was making; and we owe everything to those exertions. If the expense should have been a million sterling, or even a million and a half, it was good economy at present, and will probably be a source of great saving hereafter. Let me know in what manner and form you mean to present it to Parliament. I should like also to have a peep at the Foreign Article in the speech. Let us act like generous conquerors and put nothing in it but what is conciliatory, and not a word which may imply insult, or even a sense of triumph; the story tells itself and will not suffer by modesty.

Mr. Pitt will probably show you a letter which I have written to him to-day on my own situation. I own that it is not very edifying to me, instead of receiving either solid benefits or external marks of favour at the close of our successful struggles, to be preparing for an exile to that horrid Siberia; but do not suspect that I am otherwise than in perfect and cordial good-humour. I feel a grateful and friendly sense of the manner in which I have been put into the front rank in the great transactions of the last two years; and though in general I have had little more to do than to stand firm, and obey the word of command, I cannot but possess a permanent satisfaction and pride from the consequences; and it certainly is something to have set the seal to the extension of our commerce, to the arrangement of the East India disputes, and lastly, to the peace of Europe.

I wish that I could tell you when I shall arrive at Madrid—certainly as soon as the weather will allow; but it would be madness to attempt that journey with five large carriages, besides waggons, &c., in the month of December. It is not a matter of exertion—it is impracticable. If the weather should not be very bad, I am told that it may be possible in February, or the beginning of March.

I send you the letter about the wines, which ought to have arrived about this time. You will have the goodness to accept the *caisse* of *échantillons* intended

for me. I will pay for the whole, and will let you know; I believe that it will prove excellent wine.

I am obliged to you, and so is the Duke of Dorset, for having at last settled our money matters. I wrote to Lord Salisbury to ask whether there was any precedent for compounding for the chapel furniture, and as he seems to think that there is not, I undoubtedly shall not urge it. I have ordered my first set to Madrid. I have all this time a house at Madrid; and servants in London bound for Madrid, and various expenses incurred for the journey on the expectation of going in August, and in the mean time a sort of open house here; but I suppose that it is all for the best, and at worst I shall bequeath the children to the Treasury, and you will be so good as to put them into the hodge-podge Bill.

The Hubers * are still here, but I fear that their prospects are not good. I have recommended to Lord Carmarthen to appoint Consuls immediately.

Most sincerely yours,

WM. EDEN.

It is to be hoped that the congratulations in the following letter were sincere. Sir James Harris is very severe in his correspondence because Mr. Eden was friendly with the French Ministers. Sir James ought to have seen that this was the reason of Mr. Eden's success:—

Sir James Harris to Mr. Eden.

Hague, Nov. 1st, 1787.

My dear Sir,—Dessin delivered me on the 22nd October your letter of the 19th, and yesterday I received from Lauzun a confirmation of the accounts he brought.

I immediately communicated to the Prince of Orange and Duke of Brunswick this interesting information, and, as far as it is known, it seems to give

* M. and Madame Huber.

great satisfaction here. I heartily congratulate you on having so largely contributed towards the preservation of the general tranquillity, so nearly being interrupted from the intrigues and designs of the Court where you reside. These, you may be assured, still exist, and I could quote to you, were it necessary, several unquestionable proofs, that all kinds of underhand and indirect means are employed here to keep the spirit of faction alive. I am anxious to hear *when* M. de St. Priest is to come, and you will greatly oblige me by giving me timely notice of it.

The Prussian troops will gradually be withdrawn from this country, all but a body of about 4,000, which is absolutely necessary to keep in it, in order to maintain quiet and good order.

The town of Amsterdam bows down reluctantly, and her submission, though nearly complete, is a forced and uncertain one.

I happen to have messengers coming in on all sides, and am so hurried as to have barely time to thank you for the kind assistance you have afforded Mr. Gomm. We beg of you to assure Mrs. Eden of our kindest compliments, and to subscribe myself, my dear Sir, ever most truly and affectionately yours,

J. HARRIS.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, Nov. 2nd, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I have but a moment to write this evening, and I need say little to assure you how much satisfaction I have felt in the happy completion of the work in which you have been engaged. Nothing can be better than the reception of it here. There seems, however, still a good deal to be done, considering what we have discovered of the designs and conduct of France, before real cordiality can be established. I shall write again very soon. I will only add one word on a very different subject. You have had a letter from my friend Wilberforce, on a scheme which may appear

to some people chimerical, but which I really believe may, with proper management, be made practicable. If it can, I am sure it is an object well worth attending to, and perhaps you may be able to learn the private sentiments of the French government upon it, in a general way; so as to enable us to judge whether it can be carried further. I mean the idea of the two nations agreeing to discontinue the villanous traffic now carried on in Africa. Pray let me know what you think on the subject.

I am truly, dear Sir,

Sincerely, and faithfully yours,

W. Pitt.

CHAP. IX.

Mr. Eden's Conversation with M. de Montmorin.—Great Discontent of the French with respect to the Treaty of Commerce.—Correspondence between the French and English Governments.—The Reduction of the English and French Navies.—Negotiation for an Understanding and Alliance.—Duke of Dorset and Mr. Eden's Interview with M. de Montmorin on the Subject.—Failure of the Negotiation.—Mr. Wilberforce on the Slave Trade.

"FRANCE, in the spring of 1787, ruling Holland; restoring her own finances, re-establishing her fleets and armies, and building out the sea, has lost her influence in Holland, and has neither money, credit, nor government." Thus Lord Loughborough accurately describes the situation of France after the signature of the humiliating Counter-declaration. England had regained her prestige lost in the American war, and the glorious days of Chatham seemed once more to return.

M. de Montmorin * informed Mr. Eden that he had been overruled. There is no doubt that the Archbishop of Toulouse†, the finance minister, had by his influence prevented war, but many thought that he sealed the fate of the French Monarchy. Discontent at home was aggravated by degradation abroad. A foreign war might have averted revolution.

* It was said of the Archbishop, that he preferred "une guerre intérieure," against the Parliaments, to an honourable "guerre extérieure" against the English and Prussians.

† The Baron Breteuil was also opposed to the signature of the counter declaration.—Auckland MSS.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

(Private and Secret.) Séve, near Paris, 1st Nov. 1787.

My Lord,—I had a long conference with M. de Montmorin on Monday morning, and many circumstances occurred material to be stated to your Lordship.

He expressed with eagerness his satisfaction at the return of pacific appearances between the two Courts, and was very flattering in his expressions respecting the manner in which the instructions of His Majesty's Ministers had been executed, so as to aid him essentially in accomplishing so great a work. He then told me that in the course of our discussions this country had been much nearer going to war than from a view of the circumstances I might suppose.

He said that, exclusive of external interest, there had been some opinions expressed that a war was the best mode of finishing the internal troubles which had prevailed at the time of the King of Prussia's march; that there were others also hardy enough to think that if such a convulsion should shake the credit of France, it would also shake the credit of Great Britain, and that the effect would eventually be of less comparative importance to this country than to us.

He talked with due disregard of speculations; but he said that there was one moment in which a measure had nearly been taken, which, he was confident, must have prevented what has happened in Holland; which, though it might have risked an immediate war with England, would perhaps have ended in an accommodation, infinitely less hurtful to the French interests than what has now taken place; and he seemed to intimate that he had advised this measure in council but had been overruled:—this was, the forming the camp at Givet*, upon the first news of

* It has been said on good authority that the Duke of Brunswick would not have crossed the Dutch frontier if the French had formed a camp at Givet.

the Prussian march towards Wesel, notwithstanding our remonstrances and menaces.

In pursuing this subject, he said that he had no blame to impute to himself, except perhaps from weakness of mind, which had prevented his recalling M. de Verac from a post for which he was evidently unfit;—that he had utterly disapproved the French pursuit in Holland, from the moment in which he saw to what degree France was committed in it;—and that, after having opened to me in July his disposition to get clear of it, he never could bring the business to any point with M. de Verac, and from motives of personal tenderness had taken the resolution of recalling him, a few weeks too late.

He was candid in avowing that the wisdom and firmness of conduct maintained by His Majesty and his Councils in the whole transaction, accompanied and closed as it had been by full success, bore a character which would make a lasting impression, not merely in history, but in the future politics of Europe.

He then asked me, if there was any truth in the reports that it had been in contemplation in England to go beyond the question in dispute, to make demands upon France of concession utterly strange and humiliating. I answered, that on such subjects I had no pretensions to know more than himself of what might pass in His Majesty's Councils; that I could only reason from the great and general principles of conduct which had appeared to guide all the instructions received by me; and from that criterion I was of opinion that His Majesty, in his determination not to permit any changes in Europe which might materially injure the interests of his people, was unlikely to quit this line of rectitude for the purpose of making demands which would have given a dangerous example to other Powers to avail themselves of every favourable moment, and to urge "*le droit du plus fort.*"

I intimated, however, and rather strongly, that though such demands were not likely to have been made by His Majesty previous to a war, they would

have become just, and perhaps expedient, after engaging in a war upon grounds of provocations furnished by this country. The French Minister could not dispute this last position; with respect to the other, he said that the accounts of some unreasonable demand being possibly made by us had been the true reason why France had made such preparations,—which, he repeated, had amounted to from twenty-five to thirty millions; and he added, that if any such demand had been made, France would have commenced the war at all hazards, and without a *moment's* hesitation.

The conversation here turned to the happier prospects which had been opened, and the means of extending and improving them.

On the subject of the instructions to be sent to the foreign possessions, he said that he would instantly stop all vessels that were going from the French ports till the explanation suggested by your Lordship could be materially given, and that he would give it in the amplest manner as soon as he was informed in what shape we chose to have and exchange it; and that, in sending the troops to the East Indies, he would also willingly avoid any arrangement that might create jealousy, as far as the internal good government and security of their possessions might allow. With respect to naval force, he professed a readiness to come to any settlement that might contribute to prevent uneasiness and expense. He believed, however, that the best mode was, for the two governments to maintain a friendly and explicit communication with each other, and to ask questions and to give answers without reserve.

He presumed, he said, that we considered the agreement relative to the naval force in the East Indies as still subsisting. He told me that, according to the accounts before him, our naval strength in that part of the world goes far beyond that of France, but that he made no complaints of this; it arose partly from the nature of our commerce, and was also reasonable on considering the extent and importance of our possessions. He

took this occasion to mention a report to me of our having sent orders overland to India to seize the French possessions. He did not mention it as believing it; but yet, as a subject of some uneasiness, and what, though it might be set right, would give a most unpleasant sensation here.

I told him again that I was utterly uninformed on such subjects, and had no claim to know anything respecting them; but though I thought it likely, because it seemed wise, that we should have sent an early notice to the East Indies of the late menacing appearances, I did not think it probable that instructions had been given to strike a blow anywhere, and particularly in the quarter where it was always in our power with little effort to do everything.

The French Minister next spoke of the naval force to be employed on other stations, and wished to know whether we were desirous to have it upon the same footing of mutual explanation as the East India arrangement. He also asked me whether the ships of war employed by us at Newfoundland, and in other stations occasionally, made part of the established number of vessels which come within the list of guardships.

I evaded the answer, partly because the whole is a subject of which I have a most imperfect knowledge. In this part of the conversation it was incidentally mentioned that two French ships of war, of 74 and 64 guns, are expected next month from the West Indies.

M. de Montmorin next recurred to his speculation of changing the system of French ships of war in time of peace. I again suggested (as the Duke of Dorset and I had already done, jointly and strongly), that the steps which he may have in view for this purpose should be previously well examined, and communicated and discussed, otherwise they may tend to create new uneasinesses, and considerable expense at the same time in both kingdoms. He repeated, that we are under a misconception as to the peace establishment in France, which has sometimes consisted of

seventeen vessels at Brest alone, and though they did not happen to be in commission, occasionally in a state of great preparation.

He earnestly wished to be informed of the nature of the establishment of our guard-ships. He said that it could be no secret, but that the accounts which he should receive of it from other quarters would be less truthful than he should hope to receive from us, and, as he had nothing in view but what was just and conciliatory, it must be eligible to us to aid him in it. He then dropped an expression, intimating that perhaps the French peace establishment would be completely satisfactory to us if settled at twelve vessels at Brest, upon the footing of our guard-ships, and four at Toulon (it seems to be understood that our number is seventeen); but this, however, upon supposition that our peace establishment was not to be increased. He professed a strong desire to arrange this in a satisfactory manner, and said, that in regarding every possible subject of disagreement between the two nations, he foresaw nothing which might not be amicably arranged.

The Turkish business was of a serious nature; but he could not see a probability of its occasioning any misunderstanding between us.

I took the occasion to ask him respecting the new levies making by the Emperor. He professed to think it probable that his Imperial Majesty would take possession of Wallachia and Moldavia, and that the Empress meant, for her part, to keep Oczakow and one or two places which he mentioned; but that Constantinople would remain untouched, provided that the Porte should be disposed to punish the Vizier and to finish the war.

Though I have obtained of the French Minister, and shall forward with these despatches, a copy of M. Barthelemi's notification* of the 13th Sept., I submit to your Lordship, that there are expressions therein, which, with just attention towards this Court, should

* This notification will be found in the Appendix.

not be made public, and that at the utmost an extract only of the material parts should be published.

The Archevêque de Toulouse on Tuesday last expressed to me in the presence of several of the Foreign Ministers, the strongest satisfaction at the business of the preceding Saturday, and afterwards repeated to me that he entertained great hopes of our having at length laid the foundation of a long period of peace. Many people, however, feel indignant respecting the transaction, and their mortification will be increased when the Declarations are published.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

WM. EDEN.

Duke of Dorset and Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

Paris, November 1st, 1787.

My Lord,—We have not omitted to communicate to M. de Montmorin that it is His Majesty's intention, immediately on being informed that the Declarations for disarming have been exchanged, to reduce the augmentation lately made by His Majesty in his land forces; with an exception only of such troops as may be necessary to complete the addition which His Majesty proposes to make to the peace establishment of his foreign possessions. The French Minister, in return, assured us that the troops of this kingdom would be immediately ordered back from the frontiers to their usual stations, except such as it may be thought expedient to embark for the Islands and the Ile de France. We have understood that it was in contemplation to send three battalions to the former, and one to the latter, in great measure as necessary additions, and, at the utmost, to place them in a state of defence. We further stated, pursuant to the instruction from your Lordship, that, in order to avoid any occasion of jealousy in different parts of the world, it was His Majesty's wish that an explanation should take place on both sides respecting such addi-

tional force to be embarked; and that it would be a new proof of good intelligence being re-established, to suspend the departure till such explanation has taken place. M. de Montmorin adopted this suggestion readily and cordially, and said that he would immediately give the orders accordingly. It remains therefore with your Lordship to state the degree of explanation which you wish to take place; and we have reason to believe that it will be fully reciprocal on the part of this Court.

We trust that we have now given a full and satisfactory attention to every part of the joint instructions which your Lordship had transmitted to us.

We have the honour to be, &c.

DORSET,
WM. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

Séve, near Paris, Nov. 1st, 1787.

My dear Sir,—The despatches which I have found it necessary to write by this courier are immoderately voluminous, but I could not keep within a smaller compass, and I hope that you will think so when you read them.

I am anxious to see, in confidence, your foreign article for the Speech. It will be difficult so to express it as to be satisfactory to one side of the Channel, without doing mischief on the other side.

Have the goodness to tell me what papers you mean to lay before the House. It is with me a general opinion, which every observation has confirmed, that, in foreign politics, the fewer papers you give the better; and that, as to domestic information, it is generally impossible to give too much. I suppose, however, that in the present instance you must give a copy of the Declarations exchanged 30th August, to mark our disposition to avoid arming; a *very short* extract of M. Barthelemi's notification of the 13th September, to

show the necessity of arming; the letter of M. de Montmorin, of the 22nd September; his answer of the 24th; and the several Declarations signed the 27th October. Surely it will be right to avoid any further or larger communication of correspondence; perhaps even it is unnecessary to give any papers.

I am, my dear Sir, respectfully and most sincerely yours,

WM. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen

Séve, near Paris, Nov. 2nd, 1787.

My Lord,—I omitted to mention in the despatch of the 27th that M. de Montmorin has proposed to His Most Christian Majesty to send M. de Bougainville and M. de Maurigny for the purpose of ascertaining the disarming. I happen to see much of the first of these officers, who is frequently in parties at my house. He is, undoubtedly, a man of acuteness, and of great experience in the service; but his imagination is so lively and so unbridled, that I am not sorry (if the measure takes place) that he is to be accompanied by M. de Maurigny, who is said to be peculiarly correct and discreet. Though M. de Montmorin has named these officers, he remarked to me that he saw little use in their going soon, or before the disarming may be supposed to be nearly completed. He seems to consider the measure as of little solid utility, except for the purpose of contradicting ill-founded rumours and alarms, if any such should take place on either side. And I presume that, in truth, it would be practicable to give an inspection to Foreign Commissaries, and yet to conceal a great detail of preparation, if there is bad faith in either party, which there is not any ground to suppose. Upon the whole, it may be doubted whether the measure, if carried into effect, will not bear an appearance of jealousy and distrust injurious to both Governments; but your Lordship and His

Majesty's Ministers can alone decide how far that objection is likely to be compensated by any good results.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

WM. EDEN.

The following letter will show how right Mr. Eden was in wishing that England had shown a little more moderation with respect to the Commercial Treaty:—

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

Séve, Nov. 8th, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I said nearly all that I had to say in my several despatches of the 1st instant; and what I have addressed this day to Lord Carmarthen is little more than a confirmation of matters which I had before stated.

M. de Montmorin has talked again with me about the Commercial Treaty. He says that the representations from the different parts of Normandy, and even from Bordeaux also, against our pottery, and against the cottons, are again urgent to a degree of clamour and violence.; and it is said that in Normandy above 4,000 manufacturers are begging in the streets of Rouen, &c. I wish that we had set those two articles at fifteen per cent. I proposed it in the cottons and woollens, but the abominable falsehoods of some of the persons whom we consulted had made the impression. Is it now impracticable to do anything? For example, in return for having the privileges of the most favoured nations to our consuls; or is there any other pretext? It would be a great thing by way of assisting, if you could raise the Portuguese duty. I really think that, unless something is done, the rage against the Treaty here may grow too strong to be resisted.

With respect to Dutch affairs, I am sorry to hear from Sir James Harris, and from you, that the fermentation has not yet subsided. Amsterdam is so populous, and makes so essential a part of the Dutch Government, that means should be used to gain the general opinion there, or at least to divide it; at present it seems to be universally against our friends. It is the fashion here to say that the Stadtholder's measures continue to be the reverse of all conciliation; and that the same conduct is restored which originally gave birth to the French alliance. By the by, it might be material for you, with a view to the approaching debates, to read the correspondence of that time in the Secretary of State's Office. When I was in England I meant to have looked through Mr. Fox's despatches to Holland, but they escaped my recollection.

I am, my dear Sir,
Respectfully yours,
WM. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Private and Secret.) Séve, Nov. 8th, 1787.

Dear Sir,—There is one circumstance connected with the Dutch business of which we seem to make less use than should naturally result from it. I mean the impression which should be given to the French faction in Holland, respecting all the late conduct of France. If our friends in the provinces were to make a sufficient and just use of that consideration, it ought to have a general and deep effect. The patriots, as they called themselves, certainly have bitter reason to complain of France: and though France may plead in answer the necessity of her situation, that plea, whatever may be its moral merits, is politically bad—for this Court spoke great words through the whole transaction, and held out false hopes of support, both in talking of the camp of Givet, and in the notification of the 16th September.

I do not see, in the Foreign Gazettes, that this has had its due weight; nor can I collect it from people here who are come from Holland; nor do I see a trace of it in Sir James Harris's letter. On the other hand, however, the French render justice to the inability and poltroonery of the patriots, assisted as they were by French artillerists. And it is believed here, by many of the best informed, that two thousand men possessed of common bravery, and well-conducted, might, without difficulty or loss, have impeded for many months the advance of the whole Prussian army, even if it had been much larger. The country is said to be peculiarly adapted to measures of defence. When this is said to me here, I cannot resist the pleasure of doubting it, when it is considered that there were so many able French officers selected and employed; it is, nevertheless, true that the resistance made to the Duke of Brunswick was unaccountably contemptible.

(Secret).—In a despatch which I sent last week, I expressed a disbelief of M. de Rayneval being concerned with M. de Simolin* in any stock-jobbing transactions. M. de Monton, who has talked further with me about it since, also utterly disbelieves it.

This imputation was raised first on making the peace of 1783, when it was the constant cry of the newspapers, that M. de Rayneval, the young Comte de Vergennes, and M. de Sainte Foy†, were working largely in our funds. I believe that report to have been utterly groundless as to the first and second; with respect to the third, I should be unwilling to answer for him; there was no trust reposed in him, and if he could penetrate into my secret, he would either then or now be disposed to make use of it. The practice is much followed by Frenchmen, both in English and in the French funds, and even by Princes of the blood. It is said (I do not know with

* The Russian Minister at the Court of Versailles.

† M. de Sainte Foy played a conspicuous part in the French revolution; he was a great friend of Talleyrand.

what truth) that the Russian Minister has long had an establishment for this purpose at some bank in the City; it might, perhaps, be practicable to trace and to expose it.

I am, my dear Sir, respectfully and most sincerely yours,

WM. EDEN.

In the following letter will be found a remarkable conversation between Mr. Eden and M. de Montmorin with respect to the Convocation of the Etats-Généraux: —.

Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

(Secret.) Séve, near Paris, Nov. 15, 1787.

My Lord,—His Most Christian Majesty did not see the Foreign Minister on Tuesday. M. de Montmorin also declines holding the usual conference this week; but our families happened to pass a considerable part of the day together on the Monday, and I had incidentally much conversation with him on foreign affairs.

On a reference to the late explanations, he spoke of them as forming a mortifying epoch in the annals of his country, but justly exculpated himself. And he again intimated that whatever might be the opinion as to the embarrassments of France, and whatever in truth might be the extent of those embarrassments, she was much nearer entering into the war than was supposed, and that even when peace became probable, the preparations here, as well as in Spain, were pushed on in the most effective manner to the last moment. He hoped, he said, that we now have, in fact, what we generally have in ministerial language, a fair prospect of peace; but, he added, that much remains to be done in order to establish it; and that he was sorry to remark that neither country seemed, to this hour, cordially disposed to lay aside its jealousies.

Some allusion took place respecting the war between Russia and the Turks, and the appearance of the Emperor's taking part in it. I shall be further attentive to this subject, because I have suspicions that something is kept in reserve respecting it. I know with certainty that it has lately been much discussed here, and yet, in the four or five last conversations which I have had with M. de Montmorin, he has not introduced the subject; and when I have brought it forwards he has said little, and has watched to turn to some other topic. I tried, particularly on this occasion, by mentioning a remarkable circumstance relative to the Swedish Ambassador, who, on the receiving day at M. de Mercy's* had desired to speak with me in a separate apartment, when he entered into a long statement of all the dangers of the Turkish war, and the uneasiness which the King of Sweden† would see the aggrandisement of such a neighbour as Russia, and he expressed surprise that England, who now bears so great a weight in foreign politics, did not combine with Spain, France, and Prussia (and he threw Sweden into the scale) to prevent so great a convulsion as the overthrow of the Turkish Empire. I do not know whether this communication was made without instructions; but I saw no use, and some inconvenience in listening to it, and therefore declined the subject as immediately as personal attentions would allow. On my mentioning this anecdote to M. de Montmorin, and the various speculations which M. de Stael had started, he made the remarks which unavoidably presented themselves, but did not advance further.

He spoke with less reserve on the measures relative to the French finances, and on the report which is now so prevalent that His Most Christian Majesty will ultimately find it necessary to convene the Etats-Généraux. M. de Montmorin intimated to me

* Count Mercy D'Argenteau, the Austrian Ambassador.
† Gustavus the Third.

that the act was in great forwardness for authorising not only the sanction of the new loan, but the succeeding state of the finances, and he spoke with good expectation as to the result. With respect to the Etats-Généraux, he did not allow that it was quite decided to convene them; but he said that if their meeting should be expedient, he did not conceive it to be big with such danger to His Most Christian Majesty's authority as was generally supposed. I did not enter into the subject with respect to the interests of France; nor can I foresee how those interests might be affected by so critical a measure. I think it probable, however, that the two great objects of such an assembly would be to support the national credit by separating the management of the debt from the expenses of the Crown, and, at the same time, to lower the Royal privileges and the whole principle of the French Government. Perhaps the best thing that can be wished is, that the Ministers should continue to struggle with the embarrassments of the finance without having recourse to any measure of the extent in question.

The messenger whom we sent to Spain from Versailles, on the 29th October, had not arrived at the Escurial on the 5th instant. The Spanish armaments were going forwards, and were much urged by the Duc de la Vauguyon, who retains a parental partiality for the lost cause in Holland, and who talked so strongly of its being impossible for France to give way, that he seems to have convinced the Spanish Ministers that a war was inevitable. The Ambassador's motive for this language is perhaps not friendly towards the present French Ministers. He was not pleased by M. de Montmorin's appointment, and he has been further dissatisfied by the nomination of M. de la Luzerne.

The Prussian Minister at Madrid, upon the grounds of some instructions given in at an early stage of the late business, had talked of its being expected that France would guarantee what was done in Holland,

M. de Vauguyon resented this proposition as a disgrace to which France should on no account submit. In his last despatches, he desires M. de Montmorin to assure His Most Christian Majesty that if the war should take place, he may rely on Spain having fifty ships of the line ready for sea early in March.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne was of the party on Monday. He is desirous to wait here for the arrival of his brother, who is expected from St. Domingo about the end of December; but he is to go at all events so as to arrive in England about the 10th January. I have never seen any man more solicitous to give satisfaction in a foreign mission than he is with respect to England. He labours under some disadvantage, from a manner and address which bear no resemblance to the general ease of this country, and from being extremely near-sighted; but he possesses so much good sense, and has so honourable a turn of mind, that I have little doubt of his pleasing.

I enclose a letter to your Lordship from Mr. Liston, which I have received by a Spanish courier.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

WM. EDEN.

Lord Carmarthen to the Duke of Dorset and Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, Nov. 17th, 1787.

My Lord and Sir,—As by your despatches it appears that the French Ministers seem, on the whole, not desirous of carrying into execution the idea which was suggested, some time ago, of sending officers from each country to inspect the steps taken for disarming; and as such a measure may, perhaps, carry an appearance of jealousy, which it is certainly desirable to avoid, His Majesty's servants by no means wish to persist in it; and they conceive that a

full explanation, from time to time, of the progress made on each side in disarming, will completely answer every purpose.

You will inform M. de Montmorin that directions are given by the Admiralty for paying off, with as much expedition as possible, the ships and seamen which will not be wanted for the peace establishment. I enclose to you a state of the naval force of this country at home as it stood in the beginning of the present year, which you will deliver to the French Ministers whenever they are ready (which I take for granted will be immediately) to furnish you in like manner with a state of that of France at the same period. You will also be instructed, in a short time, to enter into a further explanation with the French Ministers on the subject of the naval force to be kept up in other parts of the world; and you will inform me of any ideas which they may, in the mean time, suggest on this subject.—I am, with great truth and regard, my Lord and Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

CARMARTHEN.

Peace Establishment of the Navy for the Year 1787.

On Home Service.

Guardships of the third rate, 16; which, with frigates and vessels of inferior force, employed for the protection of the revenue, contained 9,600 men.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Private.) Séve, Nov. 22, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I have not received any answer from you to the letters which I forwarded you on the 1st inst., and there were some of them which interest me much both in a public and personal point of view. I conceive, however, that you must be much engaged at the present moment.

I have taken a house at Madrid, and am sending

anything that I shall want there, and shall go as soon as the season will allow; at the same time, many hours reflection, and observation and experience convince me, that my destination is not only unpleasant and ineligible to myself and to my family, but that it is bad for the public interests. I will now, however, write about other matters.

As soon as I receive the information about the poor negroes, I will put that business into train, and shall be tempted to draw up a paper respecting it, in the event of engaging His Most Christian Majesty's feelings towards it, and also to have it forwarded to Spain. Mr. Wilberforce should lose no time in sending me what is necessary. It must be managed here with a degree of privacy till it is settled.

I write despatches of this date to the Government, which may be very material to the debate of Tuesday next. It is possible that there may be a disposition to urge the supposed embarrassments of this country as reasons why we should have gone to war (wretched reasons, by the bye, when we had no just object!) and also for the purpose of lessening in the eyes of the country the merit of your late glorious success. I have wished, therefore, to enable you decidedly and justly to state that the embarrassments of this country are by no means what they are represented; and this, guardedly and well stated, would be well and kindly taken here, and would assist me perhaps materially in points of solid importance.

Some allusions will possibly be made to me in your debates. It was repeatedly suggested to me last year from certain quarters, that the friends of the Government defended the Commercial Treaty in a tone cold and unfriendly towards me. This, as to some persons, might have been true, and whether true or false gave me little concern. At present both the East India and Dutch questions will again bring me into view; and they possibly will be stated

not only unkindly towards me, but inordinarily so towards the Duke of Dorset. As to the first of these businesses, it may be not immaterial to remind you that it was partly of a commercial nature, that it was originally proposed to me by the late M. de Vergennes; that I had two opportunities of short visits to England, made partly for the purpose of discussing that business with you and the India Board; and that it was afterwards renewed and completed during the Duke of Dorset's absence. As to the second, the plain truth is, that the whole detail of the negotiation, by various accidents, absences, &c., fell into my hands, and there remained to the conclusion. Something will also be said perhaps respecting the increase of salaries to these two Embassies. Nobody has ever doubted, however, that the increase was necessary. I forget whether I ever mentioned to you what are the allowances to the French Ambassadors in England and at Madrid—50,000 ecus (about £6,000) is given for plate and equipage, and 200,000 francs as salary (about £8,350.)

I send to Mr. Rose a very singular pamphlet of Mirabeau's. We sent it a week ago to the office, and you probably have seen it; if not, it is well worth your perusal, because, though it contains little, there are some strong and remarkable expressions in it, and though he speaks impertinences of England, he does justice to your *coup de maître.*

I wish that you could take the trouble to write me a few lines about Sainte Foy; some of his friends here will take it ill if I say no more about him, and they are material.

The Archbishop is in high spirits upon the prospects of his money businesses. It was last night utterly unknown that his loan is secure; it possibly will transpire to-day or to-morrow. Some displeasure is privately conceived, but I do not precisely know why, against the Garde des Scéaux. With respect to the two councillors who are imprisoned, it is intended to oblige them to sell their charges.

I wish that you would have the goodness to let me have some account of your Tuesday's debate as soon as you find it convenient. I have many friends at Versailles who are eager about it, and they are so obliging to me that I am glad to use any occasion of so fair a kind to mark attention.

I am, my dear Sir,

Most sincerely and respectfully yours,

WM. EDEN.

M. de Montmorin to the Duke of Dorset.

À Versailles, le 5 décembre 1787.

Monsieur,—J'ai l'honneur d'envoyer à votre Excellence une note de l'état où se trouvoit notre marine au premier janvier de cette année. Vous y verrez, Monsieur, qu'à cette époque nous avions, en état d'être armés, 21 vaisseaux de ligne. Comme l'intention du Roi est d'ôter jusqu'au moindre prétexte de soupçon et de méfiance entre les deux Cours, et de maintenir la bonne intelligence qui subsiste entre elles, Sa Majesté a ordonné de réduire au nombre de 16 les vaisseaux qui seront tenus en état d'être armés, sur le même pied que le sont vos vaisseaux de garde, savoir, 12 à Brest, et 4 à Toulon. C'est là, selon ce que m'a dit votre Excellence, le nombre de vaisseaux de garde que le ministère Britannique se propose de conserver. Vous pouvez assurer votre Cour, Monsieur, que nous tiendrons, scrupuleusement, la main à cet arrangement, et qu'il n'y sera rien changé qu'autant qu'il ne feroit dans les ports d'Angleterre des mouvemens qui nous en imposeroit l'obligation. Au reste, Monsieur, il est entendu que l'arrangement dont il s'agit, ne comprend pas les armemens légers que l'on jugera à propos de faire, de part et d'autre, soit pour des évolutions, soit pour des cas imprévus.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.,

LE CTE. DE MONTMORIN.

Note sur l'état de la Marine dans les Ports du Roi au 1er janvier 1787.

BREST.

Ce port offrait 14 vaisseaux (dont les noms suivent) en état d'armer au premier ordre, ayant leur agrès, et munitions en état, et prêts à être embarqués, et on les considéroit comme pouvant être assimilés aux vaisseaux de garde d'Angleterre quant à leur position. Six frégates (également dénommés ci-après) étoient dans la même situation. 300 officiers mariniers, et 1,300 matelots affectés aux mouvemens du port de Brest, étoient particulièrement destinés à former la tête des équipages de ces 14 vaisseaux et 6 frégates, et l'on ne comprenoit pas dans ce nombre environ 800 hommes de mer désignés pour le service des flottes et gabanes destinés à faire le cabotage, et aux transports des munitions d'un port à l'autre.

Les bâtimens armés dépendans de ce port étoient au nombre de 19: savoir, 2 vaisseaux de ligne, 10 frégates et 7 corvettes, reparties dans les différentes stations.

Vaisseaux en état d'armer au premier ordre au 1er janvier 1787.

Le Majestueux -	de 110	canons.	Le Téméraire -	de 74	canons.
Les deux Frères -	- 80	„	Le Superbe - - -	74	„
L'Auguste - - -	80	„	Le Magnanime - -	74	„
L'Achille - - - -	74	„	Le Neptune - - -	74	„
L'Argonaute - - -	74	„	La Victoire - - -	74	„
Le Brave - - - -	74	„	Le Zèle - - - -	74	„
L'Illustre - - - -	74	„			

Frégates.

La Nymphe - -	de 36	canons.	La Galathée - -	de 32	canons.
L'Iphigénie - - -	32	„	La Gentille - - -	32	„
L'Emeraude - - -	32	„	La Résolue - - -	32	„

Toulon.

Ce port présentoit 6 vaisseaux et 4 frégates, disposés à armer au premier ordre, et qui pouvoient également être considérés sur le même rapport que les vaisseaux de garde en Angleterre,—leur agrès, et munitions étant prêts à être embarqués, 400 hommes de mer, dont 100 officiers mariniers, et 300 matelots étoient réunis dans ce port, destinés, comme à Brest, à former un fond pour l'armement de ces bâtimens, s'il avoit lieu. Ils étoient employés aux mouvemens intérieurs du port.

Les bâtimens armés dépendans de ce département étoient au nombre de 8: savoir, 3 frégates et 5 corvettes, reparties dans les différentes stations.

Vaisseaux et frégates en état d'armer, au premier ordre, au 1er janvier 1787.

La Couronne	de 80 canons.	Le Guerrier	de 74 canons.
Le Dictateur	74 „	La Minerve	36 „
Le Suffisant	74 „	L'Alceste	32 „
L'Heureux	74 „	L'Iris	32 „
Le Centaure	74 „	La Vestale	32 „

Rochefort.

Ce port n'offroit qu'un seul vaisseau, et deux frégates, dont la position pouvoit être assimilée à l'état des vaisseaux de garde en Angleterre. 150 hommes de mer étoient seulement rassemblés dans ce port, pour former la tête d'équipage de ces trois bâtimens, mais on n'y comprenoit pas 250 hommes destinés à armer les flottes et gabanes de cabotage affectés à ce département.

Le nombre de bâtimens armés dépendans de ce port dans les différentes stations étoient de 4, dont une frégate et 3 corvettes.

Vaisseaux et frégates en état d'armer, au premier ordre, au 1er janvier 1787.

Le Sphinx de 64 canons. | La Néréide de 32 canons.
La Courageuse de 32 canons.

Il résulte qu'il y avoit à l'époque du 1er janvier 1787, en état d'armer au premier ordre dans les trois ports,—

Vaisseaux de ligne	21
Frégates	12
Ou	33

bâtimens de guerre armés, et 3,100 hommes de mer rassemblés à Brest, Toulon, et Rochefort.

The following letter of Lord Carmarthen relates to a negotiation that was now carried on between Mr. Eden and M. de Montmorin, in order to bring about an understanding between the two Courts. Turkey had in August declared war against Russia, and the English Minister was naturally anxious to find out the views of the French Cabinet with respect to supporting her against Russia and Austria, which powers were now combined to plunder and divide the Ottoman Empire: —

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Whitehall, Dec. 17, 1787.

Dear Sir,—In any future conversation you may have with M. de Montmorin, I could wish you to learn from him as far as possible the nature of those great lengths he is disposed to go *in order to bring the two countries to a real degree of confidence and good understanding.* We certainly should be ready on our part to meet him on any ground of arrangement which might lead to the effectual establishment of such a situation between us.

I see little probability, however, of so pleasing a hope being realised, without something specific respecting India being agreed to. Our chief, if not our

only distrust of the views of France being productive of mischief to us, is founded upon the unpleasant experience of her hostile intentions in that quarter, notwithstanding repeated assurances of her pacific, nay, even friendly disposition towards us. If France is seriously inclined to remove all suspicion on our part, and to establish a permanent system of good understanding and confidence with England, let her not only declare her wishes on the subject, but act up to the spirit of such a declaration, and thereby remove the great source of jealousy and distrust on our part.

What M. de Montmorin stated respecting the interest of France in the Levant trade, and that of Great Britain in regard to her Indian possessions, should not be lost sight of. If the French Minister meant nothing when he mentioned those subjects, it will be advantageous for us to know he meant no more. If, on the contrary, *he wished to throw out those ideas with a view to fair discussion and future arrangement, no opportunity should be lost of renewing so interesting a conversation, and the more directly and explicitly the subject is treated the better.*

Believe me ever, dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

CARMARTHEN.

Lord Carmarthen to the Duke of Dorset and Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, Dec. 18, 1787.

My Lord and Sir,—I observe by Mr. Eden's letter, that M. de Montmorin has taken occasion to express an opinion that a decided alternative must now be formed by the two countries, between two systems, one of which would amount to a constant state of jealousy and suspicion, the other to an honourable and explicit understanding between the

two Sovereigns and their respective Ministers, towards which he was willing to go great lengths. The permanent security of peace, and friendly intercourse with all other Powers, is certainly His Majesty's earnest wish; and no part of His Majesty's conduct is directed to any other object than that of the security of his own dominions, and the means of resisting any attack from whatever quarter it might come. There will, therefore, be no step adopted, on the part of this country, which can give any just cause of jealousy to France; and there is nothing to occasion distance and reserve between the two countries, except the apprehension that the system of France may be such as to lead directly or indirectly to objects injurious to the interests of His Majesty's dominions.

Whatever may be now the case, the experience of many years has proved that such has been the nature of the system pursued by the French Government; and their recent conduct with respect to the affairs of Holland engaged the attention of this country as appearing to form a part of the same line of policy—it being a truth which cannot be too often repeated that their influence in Holland could be advantageous to them only in proportion as it might afford the means of annoying us.

It cannot, therefore, be supposed that this Government could be justified in laying aside that vigilant, and even jealous, attention, which results from our past experience, without the strongest grounds of conviction that the policy of France is really changed, and that no view to any encroachment is any longer entertained. If any explanation can be entered into which may tend to produce this conviction, on solid grounds of reason and supported by facts, there would be the most sincere and earnest wish, on our part, to meet such a disposition, and to concur in establishing such a cordial good understanding, as, if it could be accomplished, would tend more than

any other measure to the permanency of peace, and would therefore form a fortunate era in the history of the two countries.

But, at the very moment that such explanations are pointed at, it is impossible not to take notice of the reserve which M. de Montmorin maintains on those subjects, which must be felt to be the most material; and particularly that at the very time when his conversations state the interest of France, in preserving her present situation in Turkey, as similar to that which we have in the maintenance of our possessions in India, he declines all further explanation on that point; while other reports, by no means unauthenticated, would induce us to believe that France is pursuing a line of policy directly contrary to that which she holds out to us on this subject.

It must also be acknowledged that, if we understood rightly the proposal now made by France with respect to her naval peace establishment, on which instructions are now sent to the Duke of Dorset, what is intended by that Court is little calculated to promote the removal of jealousies. Nothing, therefore, can be more desirable than to come to an explanation, sufficiently clear and precise, to ascertain how far the two Courts can really understand each other. From M. de Montmorin's expression of his being ready to go great lengths in such an explanation, I am inclined, notwithstanding the circumstances to which I have alluded in the former part of this letter, to hope that it may tend to beneficial consequences. I have already stated to you in general His Majesty's sentiments on this subject; it is hardly necessary to add, that, to answer any good purpose, it must be made evident that no views are entertained on either side to give jealousy to the other. The chief points, to which this country must naturally look, are what relate to Holland and to India. If the system lately pursued by France in Holland, and the views in India, with which it is

connected, are completely abandoned, I trust there is no probability of anything arising to interrupt the harmony between the two countries; but it is material to have as distinct an explanation as possible, on both these points, and particularly to know whether M. de Montmorin has anything to suggest which will give us sufficient security that France does not intend to give any disturbance to our interests in India, provided we are willing to leave them unmolested in the points connected with their commerce in the Levant.

In any conversations which you may have with M. de Montmorin, you will direct your attention to the obtaining as full and ample a communication of his sentiments on the points to which I have particularly adverted, as well as on any other which he may consider as connected with them; and you may give him the fullest assurances of the disposition of His Majesty's Ministers to enter, with the utmost fairness and candour, into any discussion which may arise out of the explanations which he may think proper to give you.—I am, &c.

CARMARTHEN.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Pitt.

(Most secret.) Paris, Dec. 21, 1788.

My dear Sir,—You will see in our despatch of this evening that we are to have a full conference with M. de Montmorin upon the great question whether it is practicable to explain and arrange all causes of jealousy and uneasiness between the two countries; and this was intended to have been to-morrow. I have, however, requested the Duke of Dorset to postpone it three or four days longer, and shall write the best excuse I can find to the French Minister for not going to-morrow to Versailles (*le jour de l'an*); in fact, I doubt much whether this same conference may not do us more harm than good, unless we were in a situation to go fully and fairly into

the question, and to establish at least some leading principles as points in which we can eventually agree. 'If, as will probably be the case, we enter into the discussion of this great subject without any definite purpose, I do not think that we shall collect anything from the French Ministers which I do not know already, and yet we shall give them the impression of our having nothing in view but to extend information; and on the other hand, both M. de Montmorin and I must feel that, by making speculations which involve the interests of the Court of Vienna, we are risking offence in a certain female * quarter here; and when offence has already been conceived more than once, in points of this nature, in which I have merely discharged my duty, that offence without respect to anything I may feel in the quarter to which I allude, would not restrain me, if I did not think that it might create difficulties which may be avoided, if we do not proceed in the business till we are prepared to bring it to some conclusion. It is matter of extreme delicacy to me to express all that I mean to intimate here; but in short, if the discussion is merely a mode of sounding the views and measures of this Court, I do not feel that it will answer; and if it has in view the possibility of establishing a great and comprehensive system, we are not sufficiently authorised to enter into particulars. I speculate in the dark in my correspondence, because I receive so few and such short answers to everything that I write; but I am not quite discouraged by that circumstance.

I have endeavoured to learn what is the real state of the connection between this country and the two Imperial Courts; and whatever may be written to you from other quarters, I venture to express my personal belief, that nothing has been done either at Vienna or at Petersburg that ought to give uneasiness. I am living in intimacy with persons most in the confidence of what is done here. I have sacrificed much of my

* The Queen.

time during the last week to conversations with them, and I have some other modes of intelligence which have been correct; and I have reason to believe at this moment that the French Ministers, far from having any secret understanding with the Emperor, consider his late conduct* highly unpleasant and perplexing; and are as much in doubt at this moment as to what line of explanation or of conduct he will take in respect of the late Belgrade business, as I can be; and though they have had many friendly and confidential communications from Petersburg, I believe it to be very certain that they have never gone beyond discussions with the Empress as to the terms on which she should make peace with the Porte. I state this as the substance of various opinions confided to me, and think it superfluous to enter into particulars, and name the individual in a letter; but in cases when my opinions are contradicted by intelligence from other quarters, it would be material if the confidences made to me from England were less economical than they sometimes are.

In addition to this, I yesterday had a long and friendly conversation with the Spanish Ambassador, every expression of which tended to confirm what I have before stated. He even was earnest in intimating his opinion that it would be, at best, an unbecoming and unwise measure if Great Britain, France, and Spain permitted the Baltic fleets to enter the Mediterranean for the purpose of aiding the Turkish war; and all his ideas went to the impression that it is a favourable moment for our mutually understanding each other. In talking about an idle paper which has been circulated here by some French stockjobber, of the reported connection with the Imperial Court, he said in that unmistakeable manner which is natural to him, that

* The Emperor Joseph's conduct was very perplexing to his own subjects. Morton Eden wrote to his brother, "that some mauvais plaisant had written on the door of the St. Luke's of Vienna, 'Josephus ubique secundus, hic autem primus.'"

he did not believe any one Court in Europe had at this moment formed any decided system respecting the conduct to be adopted.

I am glad that the proposed journey of MM. de Bouganville and Maurigny is entirely laid aside; it would have been troublesome, and tended to no good purpose.

The Saxon Minister and M. de Stael, the Swedish Ambassador, have both taken the trouble to repeat to me the anxiety of their respective Courts as to the conduct of the Emperor, and of the Empress of Russia. I have received these intimations merely as in the course of loose conversations, and have hardly appeared at the time to remark them, and avoided entering into the subject.

The new loan is now filled, and in great measure also the arrangements for the ninety millions which are to complete the loan of next year.

I am, my dear Sir,

Respectfully and most sincerely yours,

WM. EDEN.

Duke of Dorset and Mr. Eden to Lord Carmarthen.

January 6th, 1788.

My Lord,—We had a long conference yesterday, by appointment, with M. de Montmorin, at Versailles, upon the several subjects of your Lordship's despatch. The French Minister opened the business with expressions of dissatisfaction: he said that England was in the habit of assuming a tone of complaint and distrust, and that such a tone was at present better suited to France, whether she adverts to the late transactions in Holland, or to those in the several German Courts; that the measures of this country respecting the United Provinces had been just and reasonable; that she had materially assisted them in the pacification with us; that she had nearly risked a war for their protection in the disputes with the Emperor, and had incurred great expenses on that occasion; that

the alliance was a natural return to such treatment; and that if it were true, which might be disputed, that the influence of France in the United Provinces was only useful to her as furnishing the means of annoying Great Britain, the same proposition might be stated in some degree respecting the influence of Great Britain in the Provinces as tending to injure France; that the insinuation of the French Ministers being engaged in negotiations with other Courts contradictory to the language which they are holding towards us, was so vague that it proved nothing but a disposition either to feel or to express jealousies; and lastly (which he expressed with a tone of good humour), that when we accused him of reserve on the Turkish business, we ought at least to ask him questions before we complained of his not giving answers; and that, in the mean time, he might with equal justice complain of our reserve. When we had maintained our instructions on these several points with such reasonings as occurred to us, the conference went into some discussions and explanations which we conceive to be of considerable importance.

With respect to the naval peace establishment of France, M. de Montmorin said, that he was far from thinking with us that the communications which he had made to us on that subject were little calculated to promote the removal of jealousies:—instead of maintaining here a force upon an indefinite establishment, and which might incessantly afford us grounds of suspicion, it was his wish to have it precisely understood that France had only twelve ships of the line in the ports upon the north of the Channel and the Atlantic, and four in the Mediterranean; that he had made no objection to our statement of 9,000 sailors in employment on the 1st January, 1787; that in return he had stated only 3,000 employed by France, and would tell us now without reserve, that the number to be maintained would not exceed 1,800. On this subject he said that he had received accounts of our disarming very slowly. He did not, however,

express any material doubts of our good faith and pacific views; but he added, that any very nice discussion of the proportionable peace establishment of either country would be of little utility: whatever system might be stated and avowed, the degree of real preparation would be according to the probable occasions of calling into action the naval force of the two Powers. The great and essential business, therefore, was to establish a sense of cordiality and confidence between them, and with that view, he would now meet completely and specifically the points of uneasiness on which we had confined ourselves to general and indefinite insinuations.

First.—As to the late reports which have been circulated, not only in the English newspapers, but by the English Ministers in every Court of Europe, that France is negotiating with other Powers respecting the Turkish business in a line of policy contrary to that which he holds out to us, he said that France had long had a connection and degree of confidence with the Court of Vienna, and for some time has also had a friendly communication with that of Petersburg, but that France had used these means of access (such as they were), solely for the purpose of arranging a peace for the Turks with as few sacrifices as possible, whenever the latter should be disposed to listen to terms of accommodation, but further than this, he positively and repeatedly denied the having taken any steps whatever, and as proof of it, he told us that at this hour he is ignorant of the views and plans of the Imperial Courts in the business, either jointly or separately. He took this occasion to revert to the unfriendly conduct respecting France, which he accuses Sir Robert Ainslie* of holding at the Porte, notwithstanding the late disavowal of such conduct made by His Majesty's Ministers. Before we dismiss this subject we think it right to remark, that though the French Minister was very explicit in denying

* Sir Robert Ainslie was English Ambassador.

any concert whatever, as to the Turkish business, with the Imperial Courts, he appeared to avoid any expression, or intimation of a wish, to settle any joint line of conduct with His Majesty's Ministers: and even when the probability of the Empress sending a fleet from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and the necessity of their seeking repairs and refreshment, either in English, French, or Spanish ports, was incidentally mentioned, he declined risking any opinion thereon, and professed not to know with certainty whether any ships were to be sent; he even added that no mention of such preparations had yet been made by M. de Ségur.*

Secondly.—With respect to our interests in the East Indies, he specifically and positively declared that France had no views whatever that could give us uneasiness. Some allusion being made to the conduct of persons calling themselves French agents in the Courts of the Indian Princes, and to the expected arrival of the Embassy from Tippoo Saib, he said that as to the first, he knew nothing and had heard no particulars; and as to the Mission from Tippoo, it might be expected soon to arrive, but that he was hitherto quite uninformed of its object.

Lastly.—As to Holland, in answer to our expression that we hoped we might inform your Lordship that the system lately pursued in that quarter was completely abandoned, he assured us without ill-humour, and decidedly, that it is.

As we had nothing further to state, the conversation closed here. M. de Montmorin informed us that he should send the substance of it to M. Barthèlemi, by whom it will probably be re-stated to your Lordship.

We have the honour to be, &c.

DORSET,
WM. EDEN.

P.S.—When mention is made of the Russian fleet,

* French Ambassador at St. Petersburgh.

it ought to have been added, that M. de Montmorin observed there was sufficient time to come to a further explanation, as the ships could not take their departure from the Baltic before the beginning of May at soonest.

A vessel arrived at Brest a few days ago from the Isle of France, which brought accounts that the Ambassador from Tippoo Saib had intended to sail in a very short time.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Bugden, Jan. 7th, 1788.

My dear Sir,—The different excursions I have been making during the holidays have hitherto prevented my answering your letter respecting your late conversations with M. de Montmorin, and the subjects connected with them. It is still out of my power to enter into much explanation upon them. I have great doubts whether the idea of an arrangement and concert between the two countries, with a view of securing the general tranquillity in the extent in which you seem to state it, can ever be attempted with any hope of success. But supposing it ever to be brought within a narrower line, it must at all events include so many important points that no instructions can well be given upon it without very full consideration, and the absence of many of the Cabinet during the holidays makes this impossible.

In the mean time, the more precisely you can find out what are the leading objects in M. de Montmorin's contemplation the better.

The point which strikes me as most deserving distinct consideration is what you throw out respecting the possibility of the French being induced to relinquish the Isle of France and all their possessions in India, in consideration of some advantages on the side of the Levant. I am anxious, at least, to know whether you have ground for thinking that such an idea has been seriously entertained; and if it has, what

sort of equivalent is thought of, and how we are to be instrumental in procuring it.

As to the measures pursuing towards the two Imperial Courts, we had very positive intelligence that a proposal was made above two months ago, through the Emperor's Minister at Petersburgh, tending to a Triple Alliance between those courts and that of France; and there seemed good ground to suppose that the latter was ready to enter into the views of the former against Turkey in order to procure some considerable advantage to itself either in that quarter or elsewhere. There has since been some reason to suppose, according to our information, that the answer from Petersburgh was not very favourable, but we have not been able to learn anything precise on the subject. I mention these particulars for your private information, that you may compare them with your own observation, and endeavour, if possible, to procure some further light. I am at present on my way to Lord Westmoreland's in Northamptonshire for about a week, after which I return to the neighbourhood of London.

I am, my dear Sir,
Most sincerely yours,
W. PITT.

Lord Carmarthen to the Duke of Dorset and Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, Jan. 11, 1788.

My Lord and Sir,—I received this morning your despatches of the 6th instant, for which I beg leave to thank you.

I do not observe from any part of your correspondence that M. de Montmorin is at all disposed to come to that degree of friendly correspondence with England which alone could justify *us* in entering upon anything like a confidential communication with France, either in regard to our own respective concerns, or to the general interests of other powers, so far as either country could be materially affected by them. It is,

I think, absolutely impossible for the French Ministers seriously to imagine that this Government entertains any other idea than that of a defensive system; and it would be equally absurd to suppose that any other power but France herself, either directly or indirectly, could be capable of rendering such a system necessary to us. We certainly should not adopt a line of offensive conduct, or one which could be derived from motives of aggrandisement or ambition; but, at the same time, we never, I trust, shall depart from the most attentive observation of the conduct of different powers, so long as there remains a probability of France pursuing any measures, whether separately, or in conjunction with other Courts, which may ultimately prove injurious to this country.

Such being the ground on which we proceed, M. de Montmorin can have no right to complain of a reserve on our part, so long as only general professions can be drawn from the Court of Versailles, at a moment like the present, when the unsettled state of Europe may render it necessary for both England and France to declare their sentiments, and, of course, commit themselves, however desirous of remaining in peace and tranquillity, both internally as well as in respect to each other.

I should be glad to know if the French Ministers can say their Court is perfectly indifferent to the consequences that may result from the present war between the two Imperial Courts and the Porte. If they are not, why should England, who is bound by no engagement to take a part in the contest, and whose interests do not appear likely to be materially affected by it, be left perfectly in the dark with regard to the sentiments of France, and, of course, liable to entertain suspicions of their intentions, unless the Court of Versailles actually meditates some plan injurious to this country?

Further reserve on the part of that Court might certainly justify those suspicions on ours; and I can

hardly suppose M. de Montmorin would wish to see them entertained by us. I could wish you to state the subject of this letter fairly and without reserve to M. de Montmorin, as I flatter myself the French Ministers are equally desirous with us to treat on every subject wherein the interests of the two countries are concerned, with fairness and good faith: the only method in which we can possibly acquit ourselves of what we owe to our respective Sovereigns, or indeed to our own personal characters.

I am with great truth and respect, &c.

CARMARTHEN.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Bugden, Jan. 7th, 1788.

My dear Sir,—On the subject of the Slave Trade you will hear from Wilberforce more at large than I have time to write, and it is the less necessary for me to do it, as I concur entirely in his ideas. I am persuaded a temporary interruption of the trade would be as full of difficulty and inconvenience as to abandon it entirely, and the experiment so made would be most likely to defeat the ultimate object. Besides this, if the principle of humanity and justice, on which the whole rests, is in any degree compromised, the cause is in a manner given up. I therefore trust you will find the French Government in a disposition to concur with the measure in its full extent, in which I am persuaded it will not be found less practicable, and in which alone it can be effectual.

The subject has as yet only been matter of very general reports here, and has not at all come under the discussion of Government. I shall take an early opportunity of bringing it forward. In the mean time you will, of course, take care not to commit yourself farther than by stating confidentially what you know of my personal sentiments; and if any official communication becomes necessary in your despatches (which I conceive may very immediately be the case), I should

wish it to be mentioned as a matter on which you have had opportunities of observing the sentiments and disposition of the French Ministers, and which you think it material to communicate from the importance of the subject, and from perceiving that it is to be agitated in Parliament.

I am, my dear Sir,
Most sincerely yours,
W. PITT.

Mr. Wilberforce to Mr. Eden.

London, 5th January, 1788.

My dear Sir,—I should not have suffered so long a time to elapse without returning you my best thanks for your letters of the 13th and 19th of December, if it had not been desirable that previously to my answering them I should talk them over with Mr. Pitt, and he having been rambling in one part of the country and I in another, 'tis only a day or two since we effected a meeting. I earnestly wish that your representation of the barbarity and impolicy of the Slave Trade may excite its due impression on the minds of M. de Montmorin and his coadjutors. Your expectations of success do not seem very sanguine; but look back to the other negotiations that you have conducted, and ask yourself if you could have preconceived the result of them would be so favourable as it actually turned out. As to the proposition you throw out at the close of your memorial for a suspension of the trade, I cannot say that it strikes either Mr. Pitt or myself in a very eligible point of view. Taking the question generally, the inconveniences attendant on the change we propose will be felt most sensibly at first, whilst the compensating benefits are of more slow and silent growth. This holds true both as applied to Africa and the West Indies, as well as to every country engaged in the trade. After the expiration, then, of the term of suspension, the utter abolition would be attempted under the most unfavourable cir-

cumstances possible; add to which, we must expect that the flame which is kindled will gradually die away, and the public attention be attracted by some new object. Many of the reasons which I am persuaded will have suggested themselves to your mind whilst you have been reading the few last lines of my letter, and which I therefore will not trouble you by reciting at large, are applicable to the provisional convention of which you speak, about which Mr. Pitt agrees with me in opinion. You see with how much frankness I write; it will, at least, afford you a proof that I give you credit for taking so warm and so sincere a part in this business, that you will wish all ceremony to be waived and all reserve in the discussion of it.

I gave the notice you suggest a few days before Parliament adjourned, and Mr. Fox declared in his place that he had entertained thoughts of bringing the subject into public notice, and that he should be happy to co-operate with me in so good a work. I hear something of a society that has been set on foot in Paris—what are its objects, and is it respectable from the rank, character, and number of its members? I have some idea M. de la Fayette is one of its leaders.

Once more, let me repeat my earnest wishes that the negotiation may be pushed forward with all practicable expedition. I am clear that much of our success in this country will depend on its being brought to a desirable issue before the decision of Parliament be finally taken.

I shall always be glad to hear from you; and I remain, my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,
W. WILBERFORCE.

Mr. Wilberforce to Mr. Eden.

London, 18th Jan. 1788.

My dear Sir,—I think M. de Montmorin's memorial of the 5th of January suggests the very conclusion

that you drew from his conversation, that the French Cabinet is afraid of committing itself so far as not to be able to withdraw its pledge, though nothing should be done in this country. It seems also, as you say, to apprehend that our attempts will be ineffectual; but it is with the utmost pleasure I assure you that nothing is worse founded than this apprehension. The fire is kindled in various parts of the kingdom, and the flame every day spreads wider and wider. The papers I enclose will show you what has been done at Manchester, which it should be remembered is deeply interested in the African trade, both as its manufactures form one capital branch of export, and as many of its inhabitants (as is stated to me) have large concerns in shipping in Liverpool. At Birmingham, to which one of the preceding observations applies, a society is instituted for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and a liberal subscription entered into; another society, orginally set on foot by a few Quakers in the City of London, has suddenly increased to the size you will see by the account I transmit you, and it is hourly increasing, and, I am sure we shall agree, ought not to be diminished. Besides these demonstrations of the general spirit that is gone abroad, there appears an universal disposition in our favour in the House of Commons, so far as I can judge during the recess; on the whole, therefore, *assure yourself that there is no doubt of our success.*

If the French Cabinet and M. de Montmorin are sincere in their professions of an earnest desire to relinquish their share of this infamous traffic, and are only deterred from speaking a more open language by the apprehension you have suggested, will not this representation of the state of things on this side of the water release them from the necessity of keeping back, and induce them to declare to you in plain terms that, provided Great Britain shall wholly abandon the Slave Trade, they will engage for France in doing the same? I place great dependence on the use you will

make of the information I have given you, and on that regard for personal credit which will incline the French Ministers, if they see a probability of their acceding to the measure at all, to adopt it in that way which will be most honourable to them; as if they cheerfully, at least *pari passu* with this country, stepped forward to obey the instructive suggestions of their own feelings, not as if they were dragged reluctantly into our train.

The particular mode of our proceedings in the House of Commons may be materially affected by the answer you obtain from M. de Montmorin on this head, and therefore you will have the goodness to press him with a hot fire, and as soon as possible communicate to Mr. Pitt or myself the result of your renewed attack. I will put up a copy or two of some of the tracts which have been circulated throughout England with considerable effect; they are not always strictly accurate in their statements, particularly that of Mr. Cooper's; the other little one is more to be relied on.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

W. WILBERFORCE.

CHAP. X.

Letter of Mr. Burke.—Congratulations on the tranquillity of Ireland. — Sends Crabbe's first Poem. — Lord Loughborough's advice to young Mothers. — Hugh Elliot's congratulations. — Letter of Mr. Eden containing curious proofs of Irish tranquillity.—Mr. Fox becomes a "banker."—Scott's attack on Flood.—Expenses of the Irish Secretaryship.—Irish Magistrates.—Lord Rawdon.—Mr. Eden resigns his offices.—Letters of Mr. Cooke.—Lord Bellamont's eloquence.—Lord Temple and his Brother.—Fracas between Grattan and Flood.—Mr. Fox and Mrs. Armstead.—Lord Mansfield and the Prince of Wales at Tunbridge.

THE following correspondence chiefly consists of letters to and from Mr. Eden when absent from England on his official duties in Ireland and France. Some of Mr. Eden's correspondents kept him perfectly informed of everything that passed in London society. Mr. Storer, especially, the friend of Horace Walpole and George Selwyn, was indefatigable in sending news of every description to his absent friend.

Mr. Burke to Mr. Eden.

Charles Street, S. S. S., July 28th, 1781.

My dear Sir,—I recollect with shame that I am very late in acknowledging a favour which you were very early in bestowing; your putting it on the footing of mere justice is far from expressing the obligation. It only shows that I am not obliged improperly, and this does credit to my request and to your compliance. Indeed, the gentleman whom your goodness has freed from a troublesome affair is a person of merit and talents, though unfortunate in the whole course of his life, even beyond the natural effects of imprudence. I am glad that you find the Irish Sea, of tempestuous memory, to be as smooth as a millpond, and that you are not likely to have a

great call for your seamanship; if it should turn out otherwise, you will gain in reputation what you lose in quiet, and this alternative is a fair composition upon the whole estimate of human affairs. The fact is, you come at a favourable time. All the great points were, I am going to say, disputed, but yielded, in the time of the last Lord-Lieutenant*, who may very well pass for the very hero of non-resistance. He has left you none but tenable grounds. On one side of the water, the dignity of Great Britain is not likely to bring you into much trouble. Omnipotence is entirely impotent, and your supremacy has nothing left to surrender. I really pity Lord North. He has very nearly exhausted all the funds of his glory. He can now no longer conciliate, as formerly, the affections of mankind by his amiable refusals; or command their admiration by the magnanimity of his submissions. But I beg your pardon, I was going a little to contradict myself in his favour. I shall say no more of anything tending to politics, for such is the power of inveterate bad habits that I feel myself talking factious language to a Minister of a Minister, and this you never permit but among yourselves: you will, however, bear a little of this sort of stuff, as a sort of relief from the cloying civilities which you receive so abundantly in your own right, and on account of your friends on both sides of the water. The thing is good for little, except for its novelty at the Castle.

Have you yet been on the Wicklow Mountains? Are you acquainted with the nature and properties of Bonny Clabber?† This same Bonny Clabber is a thing neither rich nor rare; it is poor enough, and a little *sourish;* and yet, when you are fatigued with shooting or missing grouse, you may think it palatable after all the cloying luxury of your own and all the good tables of Dublin. Let me say this

* Lord Buckinghamshire.

† Bonny Clabber is sour thick milk when ready for churning. In some parts of Ireland they churn all the milk.

in apology for my sour milk, after all the whipped cream of public addresses and private compliments which you *must* swallow before and after the session.

In truth, (however I may express myself) I find myself much obliged to you, and, though late in my thanks, I thank you most sincerely. To make my peace, I send you something better than my poor thanks or poorer apologies. A young man* of Suffolk, I think, shows a talent for poetry. The piece I send you seems to perform a good deal and to promise more. My humble duty to my Lord-Lieutenant. Pray make my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and to the fair young lady who was so frighted with the sight of the wild man in the nightcap. To relieve her, I hope that the beaux of Ireland, *si bien coiffés*, will make her forget that hideous figure.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard, my dear Sir, your faithful and obliged humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Stafford, 17th August, 1781.

Dear Eden,—I now see with great pleasure that I have not above twelve hours more to play the judge in. From hence I must go to Lord Bagot's and to Lady Andover's, which will take me up three days, two more I shall pass at Trentham; and as I travel slow, I shall not be at Bangor before Saturday the 25th: there I shall wish to remain three days at the least, and till the wind sets fair for Dublin.

I don't condole with you upon the increase of your nymphs, as it is no additional inconvenience to Mrs. Eden. The best economy for a young mother is to produce her sons first, because it is not necessary to bring

* Crabbe, when in great distress, had written on the 27th of March, 1781, to Mr. Burke for assistance, which was given in the kindest manner.

them out soon into the world; but as she will have to dance in the same set with the eldest daughter, it matters little how many there are to follow, and I trust she is by this time almost stout enough to begin a dance. Her friend Lady Willoughby* is reported to be in a thriving way, and that she does not come into Wales upon that account.

The only public news I have heard that is not in the *Gazette*, is that Admiral Arbuthnot †, discontented as he is, reports very favourably the state of affairs in America; but the only fact that I have heard to support his account is that Ethan Allen‡ acts openly for us, and has formed a communication with Canada. I send you an article of private news, which, before I see you, and perhaps *now*, may be stale.

"The Duchess of —— has been screaming again, which in my mind is once too much. It is very odd that Mr. Monson should alarm her Grace so much, for it seemed a very well settled affair between them, when, behold, she falls a-screaming, tells her Duke, who challenges Monson, or something like it, forbids him the house, and now she is looking out for another screaming party." This incident has been the only amusement of the summer.

Remember me to Lord Carlisle, and to all your nursery.

Yours ever most sincerely,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

The following letter is written by Mr. Hugh Elliot, who was Minister at the Court of Frederick the Great. He was a man of great ability and daring. It is stated that the King, having asked

* Lady Willoughby, the wife of Sir Peter Burrell, afterwards Lord Gwydir.

† Admiral Arbuthnot had been recalled at the request of Sir Henry Clinton.

‡ Ethan Allen was an enterprising American officer; he had taken the fort of Ticonderoga by surprise in the beginning of the war. He was afterwards taken prisoner in an attack on Montreal, and sent prisoner to England.

him one day if "Hyder Ali, that great warrior, had not beaten the English," Hugh Elliot answered, "Hyder Ali was *formerly* a great warrior; at present he is only an *old King who dotes.*"

Mr. Fox, on coming into office in 1782, recalled Mr. Elliot. He was afterwards appointed Minister at Copenhagen. Late in life he became Governor of Madras.

Mr. Hugh Elliot to Mr. Eden.

Berlin, 26th August, 1781.

My dear Eden,—I this morning received your letter of the 4th inst., and sincerely congratulate you upon the birth of a fourth female.* Ancient fiction only produced three Graces; Eleanor has given birth to one more than the heated imaginations of poets could reach. As you do not mention her, I flatter myself she has not suffered more in ushering a little Irish girl into life, than she did formerly in adding to the number of the fair sex in England and America. My best wishes attend all my nieces; and I expect they will one day be the means of uniting all His Majesty's distracted dominions, by contracting alliances with the best matches in the different regions of their nativity.

I am very sorry you know at the certain *loss* of a representative character; I conceive your situation to be a real sacrifice to the good of your employers; it must be expensive, harassing, and teazing beyond any other.† I have no doubt, however, you will find the first year the worst as to money matters—the establishment being once made, things go on more smoothly.

I am much indebted to my brother for the kind picture he has sent all my friends of my wife; she is deserving of it, though I must be modest upon

* Caroline, afterwards married to Arthur Vansittart, Esq., of Shottesbrooke.

† Mr. Eden's first year of office cost him 3000*l.* of his private fortune.

her account as well as my own, and suppose my brother has a little exaggerated. As to character I must with all candour allow *qu'elle vaut bien son mari*, who, as well as herself, when weighed in the very nice scales in which all mankind weigh their neighbours, might be found wanting in some particular points. We are, however, a very happy couple, and only need a little cash to be perfectly well pleased with ourselves and the rest of the world. As to the little one, she is like all other children, that is, like nothing—a round face, staring eyes, toothless mouth, but reckoned a paragon of beauty, and even sense, for her age.

My brother thought my health much better than it was, and I believe it is so, though I assure you I have given up all thoughts of ever being new rigged again either in body or mind, but expect to sink sooner or later, with all my mental and all my corporeal infirmities, *tout doucement*, without giving myself much trouble to mend either the *physique* or *la morale*. I do, however, most sincerely regret some of my former flights, particularly the pecuniary ones, as I am seriously embarrassed and may remain so several years. My children will, I hope, profit by my example, and be as prudent, steady, regular people as I have been the contrary. Providence certainly meant that there should be such characters as myself even in sensible England, and therefore turned me adrift with a small proportion of ballast; perhaps it was an experiment, and had it been my lot always to go before the wind, I do believe none would have had a pleasanter passage, but unfortunately, as I am now under the necessity of going very near the wind, I have great difficulty in keeping my course.

I have received a letter from my brother, dated Mittau, 22nd August. He had proceeded so far on his return with Lady Harris and her children all well. I imagine he is now at Warsaw. To my great disappointment the caravan goes from thence to Vienna to England, a considerable distance, which entirely

cuts off all my hopes of seeing my brother once more before he leaves the continent. I own I wish for *many reasons* he had preferred the shortest road. Business of infinite importance awaits him in London, and he leaves himself very scant room to meet it in time. I do not believe Russian colds have damped the strength of Lady Harris's *volonté*, as I think a very moderate share of compliance to the wishes and desires of her fellow-creatures would have induced her not to lead my brother* such a *roundabout* at this critical moment. He is indeed the kindest and best of men; I scarcely imagine the whole island will furnish any one other who would have exposed himself to so much fatigue and inconvenience. I long to hear of his safe arrival.

My wife embraces Eleanor; she longs to compare nursery notes. Believe me, although my pen is lazy and seldom tells what I do or what I feel, that Eleanor and your Honour are often the subject of my thoughts and conversation. My wife knows you as well as if she had been brought up in Downing Street, and often talks of borrowing your apartments at Greenwich, should the vicissitude of human affairs carry us to England.

I beg leave to recommend to your countenance and protection my former squire, La Coste: marriage and poverty made it impossible for me to keep him longer. I love him, however, notwithstanding all his faults, and recommend him as the best hairdresser in the world. I should think, in a country so replete with coxcombs as Hibernia, he might comb himself into a very good place. Any young man of fortune who is resolved to ruin himself will find in La Coste a cheerful companion, *parfaitement au fait* of everything necessary to the rigging of a fine gentleman; and as he has a wife and four children, it certainly would be charity to assist them in procuring a few of the spoils so necessary to feather

* Sir Gilbert Elliot and Sir James Harris had married two sisters, the daughters of Sir George Amyand.

their nest. I must not omit that La Coste is, I believe, perfectly *honest*, and that his failings are all of the amiable kind.

I beg you will tell Madame Dumont that, after many applications, I at length, some months or near a year ago, obtained from Prince Taxis an appointment for her son in one of the post offices in Flanders; but as I have never heard from him since or of him, I do not know whether or not he is in possession. I wish he may have been in the way, as it would be cruel were he to miss an employment which, though inconsiderable, it would not perhaps be in my power again to obtain.

My best love to Eleanor and the beauties. La Coste says they are charming.

Yours, most affectionately,

H. ELLIOT.

P.S.—As to politics, there is a great talk of a Congress next winter at Vienna, and should it take place I have no doubt many wise despatches will be sent from it, and next year old England will nevertheless enjoy the satisfaction of another glorious campaign, and finish the war in the old way, by beating her enemies. I expect great things from America.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 20th, 1781.

My dear Lord,—Though this is a Saturday morning, you see that I have not the good fortune to pass it among my beasts, birds, bushes, and brats. The preparations for the session thicken upon me; our money bills have in truth no difficulty, except that the equalising compact brings forward several novelties for consideration, and it is necessary to be aware of them all; and you well know that it is impossible to delegate such a task entirely to any individual: our loan would in London be the work of

five minutes, but here it is as difficult to borrow 300,000*l.* as it is in Downing Street to get twenty millions. Then I have another call to town; I am giving dinners at the rate of three per week, issuing twenty-four invitations for each time, and taking the chance of who will come. This is done in order to lighten that feverish work when the session commences, and partly too as an attention to gentlemen who came to town at the opening of the session. I am also taking some pains among individuals to preserve that general right understanding with which we are brought thus far on our journey. The good temper of the kingdom continues as complete as when you left us.

We were glad to hear of your short and sleepy passage across the Channel: we hardly can flatter ourselves that you will be induced to visit us again whilst we continue here, and yet your excursion to us ought to have some merit in your eyes, for it did great service both to your health and spirits. Our little girls are not reconciled yet to your absence, but inquire every morning whether they shall go to your door to call you.

You see that we have caught Mr. Fitzgerald *, and have placed him in Newgate; he is now safely lodged in the hands of the crown lawyers, who seem well disposed to give him an exemplary lecture on the use and abuse of law. I doubt, however, whether he is liable to any capital charge. His returning to the metropolis was a very audacious circumstance, and he now sincerely repents it.

No news, except that a woman is to be tried to-morrow for poisoning her husband. A poor prostitute was murdered on Monday by a bawd, on which the mob took her body to the door and pulled down the house. On Tuesday they caught a bailiff in the execution of a writ, and dragged him with a rope through the river. The same day a party of them beat an ox

* Nephew of the Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, afterwards hanged for murder at Castlebar.

in the streets into madness, and had the pleasure of seeing it do much mischief;—and this week also they attempted a rescue of some vagabonds who were going in a cart to the House of Industry, upon which one or two were killed. Notwithstanding these and various similar enormities which I cannot recollect, everything is apparently quiet, and the whole city as dull as when you saw it. Do not read this paragraph to any body!

Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

House of Commons, Nov. 19th.

My dear Lord,—Whilst the fate of a great part of the British empire is deciding in the Chesapeake*, we are in this House amusing ourselves with the woollen exports to Lisbon, and with examination into the state of the Irish sugar trade. Nothing in truth can be more languid and unimportant than our debates are become; but it has been a matter of much nicety and difficulty to make them so; and it is very mortifying to think that no credit will be given either for the existence of difficulties, or for address in getting rid of them. You seem in your letter clearly to have foreseen the turn that our debates would take; they opened upon a professed evident plan to worry me either into silence or absurdity, and having failed in that view, they have not system enough to adopt a regular opposition; and I am now at least as well supported both by speakers and by numbers as I can wish. Every day commences with some new motion which is meant to teaze; but it is ill-pointed, and generally misses fire, and thus far I am convinced that Government, though the business is forced forwards with a total disregard of the

* The expedition of the French and Americans *against* Lord Cornwallis is here alluded to.

popular orators, has gained ground in the good regard of the public.

Mr. Foster proves a very diligent and right-headed assistant to me. The Provost is zealous, but requires attentions. The Crown lawyers do whatever I desire. Mr. Daly enters into office with right ideas, and has so much weight in the esteem and respect of the whole House, that his accession to me not only cramps all opposition within doors, but has that effect on opinions through the country, which in the present moment cannot be too highly estimated. Mr. Bush * is able and acute, and though we have not anything certain to suggest for him, he is earnest and cordial on every point when he is not previously committed. Mr. H. Burgh† continues to a certain degree opposed, but is personally on a kind understanding with us all, and hangs so heavy on every factious attempt, that perhaps he cannot be more usefully employed. Mr. Fitzgibbon has held a decided line with us. Some of these gentlemen are really much abler than you would have collected from their first day. H. Burgh is an excellent speaker, very warm, and if zealous either way, likely to take the lead in any debate. Daly's excellence consists by no means in the polished style of the other, but in a sort of genuine eloquence, and a fluency of right and perspicuous ideas, which make a great impression on all who hear him. The others you heard, except Mr. Flood, who has disappointed me beyond description he sometimes uses a strong sentence or two, and points a parcel of antitheses in a declamation; but as a debater or leader of an opposition he makes a wretched figure, and the wonder is how it can come into contemplation to purchase him at such a price. Upon the whole (and not forgetting the accession of the whole Ponsonby party) we have a very strong Government; and I am only fearful that in consequence of it our situation will be misunderstood in England.

* Mr. Gervase Bushe.

† Mr. Hussey Burgh, M.P. for the University, a man of great classical attainments.

It is easy to conceive that a considerable bill in different ways must ultimately be paid for all this; comparatively, however, with the importance of what we have done, and are doing, at so critical a moment, our bill will be very small.

The Habeas Corpus Bill *must* be passed; for I am absolutely committed for it. His Excellency must write to the Chancellor. The proposed clause is amply sufficient if fairly construed.

Three of our money bills were sent to the Castle today, which is a fortnight sooner than ever was known; and yet our bills, from the equalisation duties, are much more complicated than ever.

I am scribbling Irish politics, because my heart aches to think of any other. God send us good news from the Chesapeake.

Yours very affectionately,
WM. EDEN.

The following letter is from an officer who rendered great services to the Government during the American war: —

Colonel Smith to Mr. Eden.*

23d Nov. 1781.

My dear Sir,—Your success and decided majority does you the highest and most public justice; you are approved, applauded, and admired; but we are here now come to that minute so as to think of no one but ourselves.

There has been a bank kept in the gambling-houses here by Charles Fox, &c., by which they had cleared above seventy thousand pounds; but Charles is again totally put down at the last Newmarket meeting, and he is thirty thousand pounds worse than vulgarly called nothing.

Our speech is truly spirited, and says little.

* Afterwards General, Colonel of the 43rd Regiment. He had served with Wolfe, and was employed on secret missions during the American war. He was uncle to Sir Sidney Smith.

Clinton writes word that he carries Lord Cornwallis his relief, and then, resigning him the command, comes directly to England. Lord Cornwallis apprehends and dreads this event, and has written to me to guard him from such circumstances by defining and declaring his own intended return as soon as possible. Don't you think our affairs in that country are on a fine *settled* system?

I thank you for your note of the 17th and the newspaper, which I will save you the trouble of sending me, by telling you that, supposing that vehicle would be genuine in your administration, they are constantly transmitted me. They afford me much and real satisfaction every way, particularly in the trouble it saves my friends.

We have a something going on here that, as soon as it has shape or existence, you shall be informed of it; but if I send you every wild idea I pick up you will be tired of me.

They are forcing Rodney* out sooner than he expected, or was resolved; but this stroke of the naval god † will not move him in his resolution of serving while he can give an order.

We are anxious about the Chesapeake, but Graves will not fight if he can avoid it. He says so himself in private to the Admiralty, so I do not scandalise him.

My respects to his Excellency and best wishes to Mrs. Eden.—Most affectionately yours,

EDWARD SMITH.

P.S.—I find General Keppel has permitted and persuaded Mrs. Knox to write to you upon her concerns.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 30th, 1781.

My dear Lord,—We continue here without any tidings from the Chesapeake‡; I suppose that you in

* Rodney gained his great victory over Count de Grassse, 11th April, 1782.

† Lord Sandwich.

‡ Lord Cornwallis had capitulated on the 19th of October. The news arrived on the 25th of November.

England are about this time relieved from your suspense, though probably not from your anxiety.

Yesterday Mr. Flood attempted to renew the business of the perpetual Mutiny Bill in different forms, and being driven out of some had recourse to others, till at length we finished with a division, 144 to 66. Mr. Daly and Mr. Bush abused him without any reserve, for acting on teazing and factious principles. But I write at present chiefly to do justice to our friend Scott*, who yesterday showed abilities far superior to any that either you or I had given him credit for. Flood had the misfortune to offend him in one of his speeches, (for he never gives us less than half a dozen orations in every debate), and in return the Attorney made a regular attack upon the whole life and character of the other, with more acrimony where he was serious, and with more wit when he chose to laugh, than I have ever seen blended together in a philippic against one man. There were *many* turns and expressions of imperfect taste, but upon the whole it was fully suited to the taste and disposition of the audience, though Flood had hardly merited the treatment which he received. It was contrived to close the debate on both sides with professions of good humour; but I suspect that one of the parties passed the night in all the tortures of the damned. The character painted in great detail and mixed with many humorous, but coarse and awkward allusions, was that of a malevolent outcast from all social intercourse of life, driven to madness by spleen and vanity, forlorn in reputation, and sunk in abilities. This line of allusion went so far that no man could venture to interrupt; and though both the gentlemen were quite disorderly, it was good-natured, and indeed necessary to suffer them to continue so, till they had talked themselves, and each other, into some practicable form.

In the frequent occasions which I have to put my

* Scott had been brought into the House of Commons by Lord Townshend, in order to silence the opposition leaders. He was afterwards created Lord Earlsfort, then Earl of Clonmell.

parliamentary supporters to a trial, I must do them the justice to say that they are thus far steady and cordial, and in no degree teazing. They have various expectations, but do not urge them at present.

Our new allies do well. Mr. Daly gives all his weight, which is very great, both in debate and public estimation, without reserve or hesitation: and this has encouraged Mr. Fitzgibbon, Mr. Bush, and others to do the same. And upon the whole our House is much as you have occasionally wished to make the English House of Commons, and would have done if you had been duly supported: the attack is fairly carried into the enemy's quarters, and the Opposition is on the defensive.

Notwithstanding all this, I do not feel easy whenever I recollect how subject all this system (which has been raised with infinite trouble and much good fortune,) is to a sudden overthrow from various circumstances and considerations on your side of the Channel, which we can neither foresee nor prevent.

I have written more on this little subject than you will like to read.—All well!

Believe me, my dear Lord, ever respectfully and affectionately yours,

WM. EDEN.

P.S.—His Excellency desires to be most kindly remembered to you.

I have sent a hogshead of claret to Sir G. Elliot, a part of which he will send to you, and if you like it, I will send more. I think, in general, that the claret here is light and wholesome; but it is not high enough in its flavour for English tables.

The following letter is from the well known Clerk of the House of Commons:—

Mr. Hatsell to Mr. Eden.

Cotton Garden, Thursday, Dec. 13th, 1781.

Dear Sir,—I am very happy if the book I troubled you with has contributed in the least to your amuse-

ment amidst the variety of troublesome matter in which you must necessarily be engaged. If the people on your side of the water think it will be worth their while to reprint it there, I cannot have the least objection, but I should scarcely think such an expense would answer, as, from the subject, the sale of it must be necessarily confined to a very few persons. Of this, however, they will be the best judges.

I am extremely glad to find you go on so triumphantly, and, at the same time, with so much temper and moderation; and hope very sincerely that this system will continue throughout your administration. As to the general state of the empire, it is not a whit worse than, in the course of things, it ought to be. Such an administration, with such objects of government, without activity, without concert, and without system, cannot expect anything better than what has happened. But matters are not yet at their worst. Lord George Germaine *, in the debate last night, informed us that he purposes to continue in office†, and trusts the war with America will be continued in some shape or other till the thirteen united provinces and Great Britain acknowledge the same sovereign. If his colleagues, or rather their master, are of that opinion, our misfortunes are very far from being at an end. I am no longer, however, unhappy upon this subject. I have convinced myself that these blows are inflicted upon us by the hand of Providence, and are therefore, like other visitations, to be endured. We were growing an over-rich, proud, and profligate people, and as I am perfectly satisfied that human folly alone could never have reduced us from the pinnacle on which we stood, to the abject state in which we now are, I comfort myself that our rulers are set over us to answer some great but invisible end in the government of the world, and that it was necessary, in the wisdom of

* Afterwards Lord Sackville.

† Lord George Germaine, in consequence of Lord Cornwallis's disaster, was compelled to resign.

Providence, that we should be held forth a spectacle to all the nations of the earth and to posterity, as a proof how very soon ignorance, rashness, pride, and injustice, may destroy the most beautiful fabric of government that the world ever saw. Satisfied in this opinion, I received with very little emotion the account of Lord Cornwallis's misfortune.

I shall receive without surprise the account of the loss of some, perhaps the most valuable, of our West Indian islands. I expect the war to be persevered in obstinately till the oppression of taxes and the feelings of want shall produce insurrections and civil commotions at home. I shall never take a part in these dissensions, but endeavour to remain a quiet (your active mind will say an insensible) spectator of those miseries which I cannot avert, and which, like the scenes of the last century, will come upon us by degrees, and will so involve the passions and prejudices of the wisest and best of men, that in taking an eager part, even against their nearest and dearest friends, they will flatter themselves, whichever side they take, they are supporting the true constitution of their country.

These are not new opinions. Nothing has happened that I did not foresee clearly and predict to all my friends many years since. What I now say is a direct and necessary conclusion from the mode in which this government is conducted. I can have no share in preventing it, I therefore amuse myself in my own way; and having, thank God! no posterity for whom I am anxious, hope that I shall be able to bear my share of the calamities that are impending over us with submission and patience.

I am, dear Sir, with many respects to Mrs. Eden, yours most faithfully,

J. H.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Phœnix Park, Jan. 12th, 1782.

My dear Lord,—This letter shall visit Bath, and may possibly catch you there on the eve of your departure to the dark air of Westminster Hall. We are all well here and are enjoying a three weeks' retirement. I wanted an hour of recollection, and, upon the whole, am not sorry to think that I am at least separated from London politics; and so far my situation is comparatively good. I incline, too, to think that its positive toils are not ill suited to my constitution and temper. They are, however, whilst the session is going forwards, rather intolerable; and if an Irish secretary does his own business, he is like the first flower in a glass-house, and must not be expected to outlive two seasons.

I shall drive hard to finish the business in the course of April, and all my hirelings here are employed in putting forwards all our preparations. On the Mondays and Thursdays I have as usual an open door at my office, and that practice is now so well established that nobody attempts to interrupt me on other days. I generally give dinner, also, on those days.

His Excellency is in the north-west part of Ireland, in the county of Cavan, or at Lord Ross's, on the lakes in Fermanagh. He writes that the people are incredibly poor, the country beautiful, and woodcocks plentiful.

I have had time to look into my year's accounts, which are desperately inflamed by the sumptuous system of a parliamentary winter. I am at this hour (including the expense of equipage, journey, &c.) about 3000*l.* poorer than when I accepted this delightful office. Pray desire Lord North to ask the King to pay this per contra, and accommodate him in return with my seat at the Board of Trade. If the times were more propitious I should seriously ask this, for I have

too many children to feel easy under a derangement of my private affairs.

You will see Gerard Hamilton, and he will talk to you about his office. It would be very convenient to us if he would sell it on reasonable terms. We wish to vacate it for Foster, in order to give Foster's to Mr. Ponsonby's eldest son.

We have a very mild winter here, and my garden and forcing-houses are brought into the greatest order possible. Will you come and see us next year? I fear not. Lord Trentham goes on Monday. The Duke of Buccleuch is coming.

Believe me, my dear Lord, ever respectfully and affectionately yours,

WM. EDEN.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Dublin Castle, Jan. 22nd, 1782.

My dear Lord,—I came to town yesterday for a five hours' conversation as usual; after which we had a council in order to issue the *brutum fulmen* of a proclamation against some justices of the peace and others on the banks of the Shannon, for plundering a Portuguese ship under pretence that she was a wreck, because she had fired a signal of distress the day before; at the time of plundering she was lying safe at Arklow. In the week before, at Galway, the troops were forced to fire on a large mob, who persisted in the same laudable occupation upon the cargo of an unhappy vessel that had been driven ashore. I believe that we shall try the effect of an Act to charge all these depredations in future upon the barony where such outrages happen.

We stayed in town to dine quietly with Lord Rawdon*, whose accounts of America are interesting, and when he can venture to quit his reserve (for which

* Lord Rawdon had been taken prisoner by a cruiser on his return to England, and was a spectator from a French man-of-war of Lord Cornwallis's disaster.

he has good reasons,) very intelligent. Nothing is more demonstrable than that the last fortunate enterprise of the French forces in conjunction with the rebel army succeeded against every reasonable probability. If Graves* had *fought;* if, not fighting, he had interrupted the Rhode Island squadron, or at least prevented its junction, (it carried the entrenching tools and battering cannon); if, doing neither, he had not undertaken to proceed to the relief upon a fixed day, (which induced Lord Cornwallis to remain); if Sir. H. Clinton could have occupied Washington in the White Plains; if, not doing that, he had endeavoured to prevent his march towards the Delaware; if, not preventing it, he had only hung upon his rear with large detachments, (which would have occasioned a delay in the junction of the French and rebel forces)—if Lord Cornwallis had not fixed himself on a post peculiarly exposed both to sea forces and land forces; if he had preferred Cape Fear, or other situations, off which large ships cannot lie in safety; if he had marched back towards Carolina; if he had marched forwards into Maryland; if he had met a part of the enemies' forces instead of waiting for the whole; in short, if he had not been induced to do precisely what he did, by Graves undertaking to do what he never meant to do; and if, in addition to all this, every contingency of junction between the Rhode Island, West India, and Connecticut forces (for Washington was in Connecticut with Rochambeau) had not succeeded, against all probability, the undertaking would have ended in disgrace. Lord Rawdon's services have been in every respect most highly honourable; but Lord Amherst still hesitates about putting his regiment on the establishment, though he has expended near 700 men within that regiment in the King's service.

I have been led into this detail without intending it. Several mails are due to us; they will probably

* Afterwards Lord Graves.

bring some account of a change in part among your Ministers; for it seems neither easy nor honourable for the *same* set *precisely* to proceed with the session. As for the ensuing campaign, I suppose nobody thinks of it; at least I have good reasons to believe that there is no decided idea respecting it, further than the manufacture of a new loan; but these are teazing subjects.

Flood will be vexed extremely by his dismission from the Privy Councils; as an exemplary piece of discipline, it will have permanent effect here. He will, I suppose, teaze me with many long debates. We meet next Tuesday.

We are inoculating your god-daughter, and the little animal.—Very mild weather.—All well.

Believe me, my dear Lord, respectfully and affectionately yours,

WM. EDEN.

Mr. Elliot had served his country with extraordinary energy during the American war, and it appears by the following letter that he deeply felt Mr. Fox's conduct in recalling him from Berlin:—

Mr. Hugh Elliot to Mr. Eden.

Berlin, 15th July, 1782.

My dear Eden,—You have been so completely occupied of late with Irish, English, and, I imagine, Edenish politics, that you will have had very little time to think of Berlin or me. Do not judge of my solicitude about you and yours by my silence. I really have been so deeply involved in all kinds of difficulties, that I am not certain if the greatest proof of friendship I could show those whom I love was not to wish that they might entirely forget an existence not very pleasant to itself, and in no ways profitable to others. Do not think by this language that I am cast down or despondent in consequence of my recall. I have indeed reason to be anxious for my

family, and have little resource left to support a wife and child, but, in fact, I rather consider the cause of this dilemma as a distinction than a disgrace. I avowed my attachment to the great outlines of the late system openly and without disguise.

If I am not mistaken, my recall is a proof of the effect my language, when in England, produced upon those I thought then, and think now, the principal source of our defeats and disgraces. As to any reasons they may choose to assign of the prejudices entertained against me here, either on account of any line of conduct attributed to me, or supposed connections at home, believe me they are void of foundation. I am singled out as the first victim in the foreign line, because I was the most obnoxious, from my avowed attachment to better men and better principles. This being the case, I should be ashamed to repine for bearing the mark of those with whom I wish to herd, notwithstanding the smart I feel from the sudden application of the pruning-knife. The late* administration acted upon the great scale of British politics; they endeavoured to support the supremacy of Parliament over every part of the British empire; they endeavoured to repel the insults and attacks of every enemy by force of arms, and trusted that English spirit and resolution were sufficient to counterbalance inequality of numbers and force. Had they not been checked by the factious opposition of men who were prosecuting their private interests at the expense of public misfortune, I have little doubt that success would have crowned their measures. The Duke of Ormond says of his son, who fell nobly, "I would rather have my dead son than any living son in England;" so I assure you I would rather be considered as attached to the system and views of the late administration, dead as it is, than to the wild, incoherent, and, I may add, inconsistent set who have usurped their place.

* Lord North's.

The following letters are addressed to Mr. Eden whilst residing in England. When Mr. Eden was in Ireland, he formed a great many friendships in that country. Lord Clare, Mr. John Beresford, Mr. Cooke, and others, became constant correspondents. The following letters will give some idea of the Irish Parliament during the stormy time of the volunteers: —

Mr. Beresford to Mr. Eden.

Dublin, July 23rd, 1782.

I had yesterday the satisfaction of most completely overthrowing the Bill for depriving revenue officers of their right of voting. When the Bill came back I again gave it opposition in our House, but refused to divide on it, as if I gave it up; but, in fact, we reserved ourselves for the House of Lords, where we made the best ground we could, and procured fifteen proxies without saying a word about an opposition until it passed through the committee and came to be reported, when we made our attack, and to their utter astonishment voted it to be received this day two months, by thirty-four to eighteen. We had nineteen present and fifteen proxies, to fifteen and three proxies, the whole of the new Administration here, and the Ponsonbys, are wild and mad, as is the Duke of Leinster and Mr. Conolly, who is now at my elbow; the Duke was furious and outrageous, and abused your administration grossly. Bellamont* broke out into the most violent invective against the last administration†, both in England and here, that ever I heard; abused Fox, abused all Whigs, abused the Duke of Portland; gave the merit of all their measures to yours; said they promised much and performed nothing; that their arrangements were delusion, and their economy peculation; he went on for an hour; the Duke answered, and Bellamont was twice worse than before in reply. Brown has just

* Charles Coote, Earl of Bellamont.
† Lord Rockingham's.

given a devil of a trimming to them on the address, and stated Coppinger's business strongly. I am just run up to write thus much, leaving Walsh attributing all the pretended merit of the present to your administration.

Yours sincerely.

Mr. Cooke to Mr. Eden.†*

Dublin Castle, 25th July, 1782.

My dear Sir,—You will probably see Foster, who has it in contemplation to pay you a visit on his way to Spa, whither the weak state of his wife's health is carrying him, and he will give you a full account of public matters, which are in a curious state, but not in an unpleasant one to a bold and cunning politician, however perplexing to a timid or ignorant one. Flood and Grattan are fairly upon the arena, and Ireland is to be divided by Nose or no-Nose. Flood was supported on Friday last by murdering black *Sandy*‡, Spadacino Walsh, Buck English, Jemmy Browne, and Master Maxwell. The country, however, is not so near unanimity as the parliament, and the assizes and reviews will probably create diversion if not confusion.

Lord Bellamont§ entertained the Lords on Saturday with an attack on Lord Farnham concerning some immaterial paragraph in the newspapers, and his passions growing warm, the Archbishop of Cashel moved for clearing the House, on which his Lordship exclaimed, "By —— my Lords, if you clear the House the throat of a man must be cut." They, however, pacified him and brought him to terms, which

* Mr. Cooke became, in 1789, the Under-Secretary in Ireland.

† Mr. Eden had resigned the Secretaryship of Ireland, on the termination of Lord North's government in March, 1782. The Duke of Portland succeeded Lord Carlisle as Lord-Lieutenant. On Lord Shelburne coming into office the Duke resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Temple.

‡ Alexander Montgomery, M.P. for Donegal.

§ Lord Bellamont was severely wounded in a duel with Lord Townshend, whom he called out for some imaginary slight.

Lord Farnham readily accepted, being most pacifically disposed.

It is supposed the Bill for disqualifying revenue officers will be rejected to-day in the Lords, and the Bill for allowing Bishops to make leases for thirty-one years. They talk of being up on Thursday.

We are afraid here that your new administration will be very short-lived from appearances, and bets run that Lord Temple will not meet a parliament. What will become of me? I knew Tom Grenville* at Eton very well; he was good-humoured and apparently of a placid disposition, nothing particularly brilliant about him, and in scholarship and exercises *extremus primorum extremis, &c.* Lord Temple was too much above me to be known but by observation; and his sense then, whatever it was, suffered much from stammering, false pomp and pride; and he was obstinate and passionate. What the world may have done for him I know not! If they choose to take me cordially I shall endeavour to exert myself, as far as I am able, and will work and drudge honestly. I hope Lees will be reinstated *in pleno.*

Fitzgerald was dismissed on Saturday—old Paterson quite mad. Metge succeeds.†

Forbes's language is that no person is to consider government in Ireland as permanent, but that every man is to act not on the supposition of a system, but to consider himself as dependent on the Viceroy of the day. Can this be Lord Shelburne's doctrine? And if it be, will not the country associate against it, and will not Lords-Lieutenant be soon as much slaves as Charles Fox wished to make His Majesty.

With my best compliments to Mrs. Eden and her little ones, believe me, dear Sir,

Your most devoted and obliged servant,

E. COOKE.

P.S.—Ought I not to write to Lord Carlisle?

* The late Right Hon. Thomas Grenville.

† As Judge of the Exchequer.

Mr. Cooke to Mr. Eden.

Dublin Castle, 27th July, 1782.

My dear Sir,—I am just come from the House of Lords enjoying the happy word *prorogue*, and harping upon the speech, which I shall endeavour to send you this evening. It is certainly well and artfully conceived and expressed; and the words allusive to economy and Fox's ministry well chosen and emphatically pointed. Yet that point and that emphasis prove to me more than their obvious meaning, viz. that the Duke* is going. Before the Duke came down Lord Bellamont entertained the ladies with a speech pointed against Grattan, and read some resolutions asserting freedom of speech and debate, and declaring him inimical to his country who attempted to control either, but he declined putting them. Grattan just afterwards came up to his Lordship, and thanked him for his disapprobation. "You have it, said Lord Bellamont, entirely; your whole conduct, every action of your life entitle you to it, and I give it you most fully and sincerely." They then mutually bowed. Lord Bellamont was more beautifully nonsensical than usual, in compliments to the ladies; speaking of the civic wreath he said, "If you touch the laurel the myrtle is wounded, and the olive takes the alarm."

Little Martin has been abusing George Ponsonby twice this week for accepting Coppinger's office, with more bitterness and more ability than you could imagine, the House enjoying the abuse, and protecting it by silence. Ponsonby short and inadequate in his defence. Something must be done for Coppinger, from the sense of the House, and if any expense be induced in providing for him, Ponsonby, according to his declaration, must resign.

I rejoice in the idea of the Duke's departure merely upon a public principle; a private one would make

* The Duke of Portland.

me wish his stay, as in probability it would remove me hence. Nothing but his going can save this country from confusion. His Ponsonby connection would have by degrees armed a formidable opposition against him, and of a nature which would have ruined Grattan and Lord Charlemont, and thereby placed Flood at the head of the people. By a change the fall of the former may be prevented, and the rise of the latter may be checked.

I had a letter from Daly this day, who is happy that Fox is not dictator. Grattan's debenture for £48,500* is signed to-day, an Exchequer bill payable in eighty-six. He sets out immediately for Spa.

Ogleby is in London; he says that he was promised succession to Burton's employment as Register, and that G. R., and Lord Carlisle, and you consented. It is supposed he is now working in this set of lies. The Duke of Portland thinks him a great financier! I was highly entertained the other evening by a paroxysm of the Duke of Leinster's, "He had been treated like a dog and a fool by Lord Buckinghamshire and Lord Carlisle; Fox was the only honest man in the world, and however he might not refuse his support, he would never receive office from any Government in which Fox was not chiefly concerned." This was in the height of folly, passion, foam and claret.

Scott better, and going to Buxton. If the Wells will not cure him of his jealousies as well as his rheumatism, he had better continue at Harcourt Place. Your friends here, which do not diminish, ever anxious and inquiring. Sir Wm. Parsons's son elected to-day for the College—Brown, a fellow, his opposer—the majority 8. The Provost, *hors du combat.* Parsons wrote a pamphlet against the Mutiny Bill. Very poor and juvenile, yet I remember this stroke: "The English Bill of Rights prohibits a perpetual Mutiny Bill; the Irish Bill of Rights is a per-

* The Irish Parliament had made Mr. Grattan a present of 50,000*l.*

petual Mutiny Bill." Col. Conyngham very poorly, all rheumatism and scurvy.

Your most faithful and affectionate servant,

E. C.

Mr. Cooke to Mr. Eden.

Dublin Castle, 16th Oct. 1782.

Dear Sir,—I pity poor Mr. Grenville* exceedingly; brought to be Minister of the House of Commons of Ireland at his age and in such times; and I fear the consequences. He seems sensible and perfectly well-disposed, and is laborious; but more wanting in the great essentials of a Minister,—address, manners, authority, experience, and knowledge of the world than can be conceived. How such a young man, with such disadvantages, and totally under the guidance of his brother, is to manage and direct the Parliament of Ireland in its present disordered and ungovernable state, is out of my power to imagine; and unless that assembly is governed, and governed by the Chief Secretary, you are well aware what a scene of confusion it will be.

When Lady Temple was waiting at Holyhead, Flood arrived there; her Ladyship invited him twice to dine with her, which he did; but since his arrival in Ireland he has never paid his respects to her or his Excellency at the Castle; and the other morning he slunk out of town with his blinds up and went to Farmley.

The Duke of Portland is trying to get another fall, as he is daily steeple-hunting. He is coming to town, from Castletown, where he has been for some days in Conolly's absence, to Lord Ely's house, in Ely Place, and he is to sail next week. No name more unpopular nor more justly so. I know not who wrote the parallel of the two administrations.

* Mr. W. W. Grenville.

The volunteers stark mad against the fencibles, but Government will support them.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Most faithfully your obliged servant,

E. C.

Lord Temple resigned the Lord-Lieutenancy, and arrived in England just before the first attempt of the King to upset the Coalition.

Mr. Morton Eden to Mr. W. Eden.

London, June 18th, 1783.

My dear Brother,—I have from day to day delayed writing, in hopes of being able to send you some account of your girls, but, notwithstanding that I have fully purposed every day for this last week riding down to see them, I have been unable, from the incessant rains, to accomplish it. The first fair morning I shall certainly go to Beckenham. Your political friends will probably have sent you much more minute accounts of our difficulties than I can possibly give you. The report which prevailed last night at a numerous Pantheon was that we were all out. I did not credit it. I, however, went to bed uneasy. I was up early, and in Kensington Gardens, before I had any opportunity of hearing anything on the subject. I there met Mr. Charles Townshend*, with an apparently unconcerned face; this quieted me, as I suppose that not one of you would take your dismission more to heart. The Prince of Wales has been several times in the course of this last week at my neighbour's. His face is not so blithe as Mr. C. Townshend's. Lord Temple arrived on Friday, and was the same day at the levée. He stood next to Mr. Pitt. The King distinguished them both. In private, I well know, he abuses Ireland most

* Mr. Charles Townshend, called Spanish Charles, the Treasurer of the Navy in the Coalition Government.

violently. His brother abuses Mr. Windham* for not buying his plate. Lady North and company are returned from Bath, the son improved in health, but the ladies not at all so in beauty. For God's sake, start on your return, as your presence may be most useful. My best wishes to Mrs. Eden. As we shall meet soon I shall not now say anything on a subject which I should otherwise have most certainly written to you upon. Adieu!

I am, with great truth,
Ever your obliged and affectionate,
M. E.

In the following letter Mr. Cooke gives an account of the "infamous altercation" between Grattan and Flood:—

Mr. Cooke to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Dublin Castle, 29th Oct. 1783.

Dear Sir,—Your dinner at the Duke of Portland's must have ended all anxiety respecting Lees, and you will probably see him as an Irish Ambassador in a few days. Respecting myself, I am reduced, or rather exalted, to that quietness of temper as to be determined never to speak on my own subject further; and I only feel regret that Lord Carlisle and you should have had so much trouble respecting it, and still feel yourself engaged for its success.

As to our business here, we want a form of Government. There is support enough, and almost almost all the ability of the House, if well arranged and well directed, but a sad deficiency of discipline.

Last night, Sir H. Cavendish made a motion tending towards retrenchments. Mason, by desire, moves the previous question. The Secretary says he will oppose and negative it fairly. The Prime Sergeant moves an amendment, and Mr. Grattan says he will acquiesce in it.

* Mr. W. W. Grenville was succeeded in the Irish Secretaryship by Mr. Windham.

The debate was afterwards most extraordinary. Flood, in supporting Sir Henry, dropped some hints which Grattan thought personal to himself; in answer he was severe, but orderly, against Flood. The latter replies with good ability and invective, arraigning his conduct and desertion of the people, &c. &c., and saying "that having been purchased by the people to support their rights for 50,000*l*., he had sold them for prompt payment; and he ended by terming him a *Mendicant Patriot*, and saying that if Mr. Grattan courted colloquies of such a nature, he would have no reason to rejoice at the end of the session."

The galleries were with Flood, who was able, playful, sarcastic, and vehement. Grattan felt he had lost the people. He was obliged to justify his conduct, and to prove that the person who aspersed him was the most contemptuous and odious character in the nation. He therefore delivered, after a justification of himself, the most violent and unqualified invective that was ever, I believe, spoken in a House of Parliament, going through his private and public life, abusing the defects of his person, the affectation of his manner, the vanity of his egotism; called him a notorious cheat and perjurer, of a bad character, of a bad heart, and represented his public conduct as a tissue of false patriotism, hypocrisy, treachery, duplicity, cowardice, and corruption; and he ended by saying that "he would tell him to his beard that he was not an honest man."

Flood replied, and whilst he was coolly defending himself, the Speaker thought fit, at last, when it was totally improper for him, to interfere. The House supported the Chair. No one supported Flood. He demanded to be heard in vain; so fled from the House. Magistrates were then desired to take him, and Alderman Exshaw found him; to whom Flood promised that he would not stir from his house before he saw him again. Grattan was suffered to be in the House for some time. He then went home with Cuffe, wrote to his wife that he

was sent for to Colonel Morley, who was ill, and hid himself from the magistrates. Warrants have been issued against him to-day, but neither are to be found; the truth is, some message has passed, and they have agreed to settle their private affairs to-day, and to meet decisively to-morrow. Cuffe is Grattan's second, Black Montgomery Flood's. Sir Frederick* told me "nothing would bind his relative, and that the business must be decisive."

You must wait for events and speculations till to-morrow.

Most obediently and faithfully,

E. Cooke.

(Forster at length settled.)

Mr. Cooke to Mr. Eden.

Dublin Castle, 11th Dec. 1783.

Dear Sir,—I have not written so fully or constantly of late, as I could have wished or as I ought; but you hear from others what I would have been afraid to say. The spirited votes of Parliament have their effect. Dublin in perfect quiet. The Bishop of Derry† had the honour of hanging Yelverton‡ in effigy at Armagh on his return home; his troop and himself, and the Armagh corps, got all drunk, and after Yelverton was burnt one of his corps proposed hanging Lord Charlemont, for having given the Bishop a cool reception. A battle was near ensuing, and the night ended in confusion and drunkenness. The question which is most likely to be fought is that of protecting duties; first, because it is a stroke against England, and secondly, because it may ruin Ireland; and thirdly, because it has a popular sound, and is not understood.

Mr. Pelham§ sails for London on Monday. I hope you will have some conversation with him; his great object is to lay a foundation for a final settlement in

* Probably Sir Frederick Flood.
† The Earl of Bristol, a furious supporter of Irish independence.
‡ Afterwards Lord Avonmore.
§ The Chief Secretary who succeeded Mr. Windham.

commercial points between the two countries. And Government being very powerful at present, and the attention of the nation diverted, perhaps the time is fortunate for the adoption of a system.

Let me congratulate you on your India business and its success, as I consider the real question to have been whether Charles Fox or Charles Jenkinson should be minister. I hear you say that you are to have a majority of thirty in the Lords. I feel happy that Lord Loughborough is to be *agmen ipse*. It is a noble occasion for the display of resolution and abilities.

The papers sent you out Governor-General, but as Lees has never hinted the idea, I suppose it is not in real agitation. I should have felt sorely wounded if you had not given me the offer of being one of your slaves to support your palanquin.

I should desire you to present my best respects to Lord Carlisle, and my sincere acknowledgment for his continued attention to my interests, if I were not afraid it might seem to contain a sarcasm. These delays, in addition to jealousies and uncertainty, have kept me wavering and disquieted, but I hope I shall soon again get fixed in my pursuits.

I find that restless fellow Lees, as soon as he has obtained his own object, has taken up mine to work with. I only hope his zeal will not do me harm.

Believe me, dear Sir, your most faithful and obliged servant,

E. Cooke.

P.S.—I hope Mrs. Eden enjoys a healthy nursery without alarming returns.

Mr. Hugh Elliot to Mr. Eden.

Copenhagen, 26th Dec. 1783.

I am much obliged to you, my dear Eden, for your letter of the 21st Nov.; it was a ray of light to a bewildered traveller. I by no means pretend to volu-

minous letters from you; a few short sentences now and then will greatly contribute to direct my course, and will be received with gratitude.

Your children are I hope recovered. My daughter is health itself; I wish I could say as much of her father. For several weeks I have been paying tribute to the alternate cold and moisture of this trying climate. I only quitted my bed the day before yesterday, after a considerable confinement to it with rheumatism in my head. I am better since the hard frost set in, and that I have been able to leave the smoke of Copenhagen for the clearer air of this retreat.

I have now no other ambition in life than to get a quiet southern situation. I wish it were possible to procure the reversion of Florence upon the same terms Sir Horace Mann has it. He is old, and I think I should have some chance of being also one day grey headed under the influence of so warm a sun. In the rude north my feeble frame will soon be destroyed. I am a loyalist, it is true, but this European Newfoundland is worse than Nova Scotia.

Our last letters from England are of the fifth of December. You had divided with success twice upon the India Bill, and I was happy to see my brother's name in the respectable list of directors. The ideas entertained at a distance concerning this business cannot be very interesting to you. Foreigners in general think we are in danger of losing our East India possessions entirely by the intrigues of the French and the strength of their allies in Hindostan, and are, consequently, more solicitous to learn what military force will be left for the defence of those distant provinces, than to follow the different modes of civil government we are so anxious to establish. I am not a little tainted with the same principles, and am persuaded that the nations of Europe are perhaps more desirous to see us driven out of Hindostan than they were to divest us of the sovereignty and exclusive trade of our colonies in America.

Our empire in the East was not originally founded upon justice; it was acquired by force, and by force I believe it must be maintained. I am more impatient to hear who is to be Commander-in-chief than who is to be Governor-General, and in this light I rather wish that the directors may be the medium of conveying to England the sense of the Government in India, than that they should endeavour, at so great a distance, to manage the military, political; and commercial concerns of a country so different in every respect from any nation in this quarter of the globe.

Excuse these unfashionable and exploded ideas; they originate from the conviction that what was conquered by the sword must be preserved by the sword; that a military government, secret in its counsels, sudden in execution, and uniform in subordination, is the only adequate government for ensuring the possession of a distant province, the envy of our rivals, and the last remaining source of trade and opulence.—Yours most affectionate,

H. Elliot.

P.S.—Mr. Johnstone begs to present his respects to you.

Mr. Hugh Elliot to Mr. Eden.

Copenhagen, 25th Sept. 1784.

My dear Eden,—I am much obliged to you for your immediate answer to my last letter, and wish you and my Eleanor every degree of happiness and comfort in your new son.* My lively little girl equally interests, entertains, and occupies me; she makes the meridian of life more cheerful than even the giddy days of youth, and I begin to look forward without much anxiety to future times, as I do not despair of leaving her some degree of competency. I am very grateful for the hint you give me of endeavouring to do something *solid* for myself. There is no doubt I have every right to expect that justice will be done me,

* George, afterwards second Lord Auckland.

both in point of emolument and reputation; upon the Continent I have already re-established the latter, and I believe removed the strong prejudices entertained or propagated by friends and foes. I have ever acted up to my own ideas of right and wrong, without consulting how far the world went with me, and I do not repent of my system, however eccentric, singular, or imprudent others may have thought me.

If my superiors see my services in the same light I see them myself, they will, without doubt, recompense me for the injustice of Mr. Fox's conduct towards me; if, on the contrary, it is either not their wish or not in their power to serve me in the line of my profession, I shall endeavour to obtain an adequate retreat for twelve years' service, and shall willingly forego my own interests for those of my child; I hope it will be possible to obtain upon her life at least a proportion of the ordinary allowance for invalid exiles.

You tell me Fox is not dead but sleepeth, and that Hare compares him to Marc Antony, Mrs. Armstead to Cleopatra, and the ponies to lions. That the ponies are as like lions as Charles and his mistress are like Marc Antony and Cleopatra I admit, but I cannot agree in allowing him any other distinguishing character that that of an acute speaker; as a politician, were he to end where he is, he must be ranked among the first of Brouillons (I think in English, Marplots). What public cause has he served? what private fortune has he bettered?

Mr. Hugh Elliot to Mr. Eden.

Copenhagen, 11th April, 1785.

My dear Eden,—I have received your welcome letter of the 22nd March. It was the best opiate I could have got to alleviate the pain of a severe rheumatic complaint, which has fixed its seat in my head and eyes, to the great detriment both of my corporeal and mental faculties. I trust Ministers are too much occupied with their *Irish Projects* to observe the chasm

in my humble labours; I sometimes am as uneasy for my intellects as for my eye-sight. This is the first interval in which I have been able to write for several days.

Your act of charity towards Johnstone is most worthily bestowed; indeed, my dear Eden, you have made a more meritorious use of the enlightened understanding and strong abilities you enjoy than any other person I have ever known abroad or at home; and I often think of you as the best model upon which all other men ought to have been formed. Many are indebted to you for the happiness of their lives; and in your public career you have, both in the hours of success and defeat, preserved untainted those private virtues, so beneficial to many, fortune has placed within the reach of your protection and assistance. I should have been very sorry that Johnstone had sacrificed *riches* to my convenience. That I wish for many essential reasons to come home, is true, that the public service in my confined sphere requires it, is also true; but if Johnstone cannot obtain a leave of absence, I shall sit down under my disappointment with a good grace, and trust to more favourable circumstances.

I am considered here as having acquitted myself with credit in a remarkable era in the political annals of the present reign; and I hope I possess the good will and esteem of *some* here whose public and private characters I equally revere. Were my health and other circumstances better adapted to northern climates, I should endeavour quietly to do the best I could where I am, both for myself and my child, but I have certainly not stamina to resist many such seasons as the two last have been; they have been trying in more *ways* than *one*.

My daughter is perfectly recovered from the measles; her little head and ready tongue are entirely taken up with the thoughts of England, and conversations with her fat cousins. She has no companions here; there is a certain coldness and rigidity of man-

ners, which extends even to children. It would surprise you to see how a numerous society can contrive to pass their whole lives upon so small a territory as Copenhagen and its environs, without ever getting over the unmeaning formality of a first acquaintance. This gloom would not be unpleasant to me if Nature was more cheerful, but she is also very penurious of her smiles. The sea is not yet open, and the ground is buried in snow, the wind easterly, and the atmosphere hard and penetrating. Were I a heathen, I should adore the sun; as a Christian, I devoutly pray to be transplanted to a more southern latitude.

My love to my Eleanor and your little ones,

H. Elliot.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Tunbridge Wells, 15th July, 1785.

Here I am for my health. Your farm, I hope, will do everything for you, and the business you underwent should require relaxation, &c. I shall be able only to pass three days here at present, and, on my return to Sheffield Place on Sunday, I shall think myself ignorant if I do not find a line from you on the state of things.

That fine old man, Lord Mansfield, having dispatched eighteen causes in one day at Maidstone, came here on Wednesday and stays till Thursday, when he goes to Lewes to open the Sussex assizes. He is wonderfully well; I am mostly with him, and he entertains me well with past and present history. He has not a better opinion of present administration proceedings than we have. I crammed with turtle yesterday with him, and shall do the same with venison this day. I find Lord Sackville is returned to this neighbourhood considerably *unwell*, and I am sorry he will not be able to attend the conclusion of the Irish Propositions in the Peers' House. I am just going to see him. I wish he had spoken, and that Lord Stormont had seen him when

he rose for that purpose. The ministerial men here insist that Government is sure of carrying the Propositions in Ireland. I should be content that their existence depended on it.

Fawkener has got the few arguments that can be used in favour of the measure, and we are wise enough to take the trouble of arguing on the subject.

The Prince of Wales passed this way and dined with Lady Betty Delmé*, but shocked this place by his want of curiosity. He neither saw the Well nor the Pantiles.† He amused himself with shooting pigeons at Brighthelmstone, and so close to the window of a young married lady that she proceeded to hysterics. He, however, graciously inquired after her the next day. Charles Fox also passed this way another day, and dined at the same place. The Prince's comrade is George Hanger.‡

What I have written, I think, must convince you of my indisposition.

When I have received the Judges at Sheffield Place, after the assizes, I shall probably revisit this place. Cumberland returned from London yesterday, and told us Lord Thurlow and Lord Camden had differed on the propositions, but on what point he knew not, and that an arrangement was to take place, but how, and when, and what, he was equally uninformed of.—Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Sheffield Place, 22nd July, 1785.

Many thanks for your letter. I hope Mrs. Eden has not suffered from the showers. We have been refreshed here, and some of my hay is in a state of spoiling, but we have not had enough to ensure plenty of after grass.

* Sister of Lord Carlisle.
† The fashionable promenade at Tunbridge Wells.
‡ Afterwards fourth and last Lord Coleraine.

I went from Tunbridge Wells to the assizes at Lewes, where, having officiated as foreman, I came to this place to attend the very respectable and venerable Earl of Mansfield. He is in good preservation and in good spirits, notwithstanding he is distressed by the death of his old friend the Duchess of Portland.* Having passed twenty-four hours here he went to Croydon assizes. We agreed that you are a most efficient man; that you have done yourself the highest credit during the last Session. He spoke in a very high style of you. I was of opinion the House of Commons could not do without you, but I did not mention a word of your being so infernally civil that you do not appear to be in earnest, or that your only defect is not being as violent as myself. However, the manner in which so good a judge mentioned you gave me much pleasure. I should mention to you that I am in his estimation a very considerable personage, and of course I am convinced of his discernment and good judgment. I hope you attended the debate on Monday in the Lords' House. I only know the newspaper account.

Mrs. Eden ought to see the *French* races at Brighthelmstone. They are to commence the 2nd August: and they will be curious. We could go from hence. Lord Loughborough promised to visit us after the assizes; perhaps he will have finished. Make a party, at least some part of the autumn, to come here with him and Lady Loughborough. I was severely handled yesterday by Lady Sheffield† for confessing I had omitted to send her best compliments to Mrs. Eden and you.—Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

P.S.—Here I shall remain till the 6th of August.

* The Dowager Duchess of Portland, daughter of the second Earl of Oxford, had formed one of the finest collections of works of art in the kingdom.

† Lord Sheffield's first wife was Miss Way, daughter of Lewis Way, Esq., of Richmond.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Sheffield Place, 1st Sept. 1785.

I am very thankful to you for your notes, although my transitory life prevented me from receiving them always in due time, but they are very comfortable to me in the woods.

Fortunately it is discovered that Tunbridge waters do me more harm than good, and as it is not recommended to me to bathe at Brighton, I flatter myself I may stay at home. I quitted Tunbridge Wells yesterday, and only regret the Lord Mansfield. I saw much of him, and dined almost every day in his company. We often talked of you, and, finding I corresponded with you, he desired me to present his particular compliments to you whenever I should write. He says there are only two real men of business. You are one; but you will not be elevated when you hear that I am the other. I have been greatly entertained with a number of curious anecdotes. In my next letter, if I do not forget it, I shall give you an opinion as to the Speakership of Ireland.

I was told at Tunbridge Wells by Storer that Lord North was to be at Lord Brudenell's at Tunbridge Wells on the 17th September. Perhaps he may call on you on his passage. Pray bring the Lord North with you here if you can. Mrs. Eden is under a solemn engagement to come here.—Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

P.S.—If you can find what addition will enable the inclosed to find George Rous, I shall thank you for the introduction and sending it to the post. I mean the barrister.

CHAP XI.

Death of Lord Sackville.—Warren Hastings at Cheltenham.—Opinions of Mr. Hatsell and Sir Grey Cooper with respect to the surplus revenue.—Sir Ralph Payne's hopes.—Hugh Elliot at Bath.—Letters of Mr. Storer.—The Duke of Orleans in London.—Mrs. Eden and her children.—Mr. Pitt and Lord Stanhope.—Lord Cornwallis and Lady Wallace.—Fracas at the Ranelagh, and duel in Kensington Gardens.—Lord Sydney in love.—Mr. Pitt votes against Warren Hastings.—Lord Loughborough amuses himself with literature.

In the following letter will be found some interesting particulars respecting the death of Lord Sackville:—

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Sheffield Place, 6th Sept. 1785.

I am very thankful for your notes. They have conveyed interesting intelligence and at interesting moments. There is no foundation for the reports relative to our friend Gibbon. There was a letter from him about a month ago. He has had the gout; the report at first greatly annoyed me, although I have reason to expect any extraordinary intelligence relative to him from a friend who is near him. He is not to visit England till September 1786.

I agree with you entirely as to Lord Sackville. He had many good points: he was fair and downright; he had a right understanding. I began to take much to him: I liked him much, although partly perhaps because he took much to me. If he had lived he would have been a good friend to a good cause. On his death-bed he rejoiced in the fate of the Irish Pro-

positions and expressed a wish to rejoice with me. At his latter end he was uncommonly composed. The newspaper account, however, is trumpery. The day before he died, when his dissolution had been hourly expected for some time, he called to his old valet-de-chambre and said, Dean Crosbie is to visit at Drayton*, on his road to Ireland, a letter should be written to let him know—he hesitated a little, and then added,—to let him know I am dead. He was desirous that his composure† should be marked. He has left 300*l.* per annum to his unmarried daughter during her maiden state, besides her fortune, which I understand to be 10,000*l.*, and recommended her to accept an invitation from Lady Bateman to live with her. The eldest son‡ is lively and promising.

I had often recommended to Foster to aim at the Irish chair; but I do not think Administration wise in taking so good a man of business from a situation where he might serve them better, or in putting an enterprising, able, busy man, at the head of the Commons. A quiet, weighty man was more to be wished by the Government of this country. When is Lord Loughborough expected southwards? I hope you and Mrs. Eden seriously think of a visit here. My lady and I intend to be particularly agreeable. There is plenty of room for any infantry you will bring.—Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

P.S.—Have you plenty of game *aux environs de Beckenham*, or is it worth carriage to you?

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Sheffield Place, 6th Oct. 1785.

I am glad to hear the venison arrived safely, but we are outrageous on the subject of your endeavouring

* Lord Sackville's seat in Northamptonshire.

† The unfortunate Lord George Germaine had been frequently charged with cowardice on account of his conduct at Minden.

‡ Afterwards the last Duke of Dorset.

to shirk Sheffield Place. We must not be tricked in that manner.' It is a pity you should lose all kind of credit with us. We *will* not suppose Mrs. Eden accessory to your shabby conduct, or that she in any way promotes it.

As to attention due to children, you must sometimes leave them; but bring them all. There is plenty of good accommodation, or leave some with grandmamma. Mrs. Eden should see Mr. Pitt at Brighton. I must dine with Lord Beauchamp there soon. We can return in the evening. If Beresford should be with you, tempt him to be of the party. I wish to know more of him. I have a good opinion of his sense, knowledge, and disposition. Cooke is in duty bound to come.

I believe you are a better politician than farmer —you may learn something here. You will see 1500 acres managed with less trouble than you would bestow on 50. — Yours, as you may demean yourself,

SHEFFIELD.

P.S.—I have no intelligence from Ireland except seven pages from Corry, but I have not time to say anything. The newspapers are shamefully neglected. Confound your farm. The Glasgow and Paisley dispositions may turn out well.

Mr. Hatsell to Mr. Eden.

Cheltenham, Monday, 10th Oct. 1785.

Dear Sir,—I am glad to learn that there is at least one spot upon the earth where the weather we have lately had, and, I am sorry to add, continue to have, has not been prejudicial. All the country we have travelled over, from Dover to this place, have lost their crops of barley and oats; the former of these articles, in Hampshire, is at forty-five shillings, which

is already dearer than it was ever known before to be at any time; added to this public inconvenience, Mrs. Hatsell and I have scarcely been able to get on horseback this last month, except for three or four days whilst we were at Paulton's. Mr. Hastings had left this place some time, but there remained a very large detachment of East Indians; amongst the rest Major Scott. I cannot find, upon inquiry, any foundation for your reports about the great man's gallantry. Everybody who met him here, amongst the rest Andrew Stuart, speak well of his behaviour. As this water is found peculiarly beneficial to constitutions that have been debilitated in a warm climate, Mr. Hastings talks of building here. This will make it the annual resort of all the Nabobs, and I shall not be surprised, instead of chariots and horses, to meet litters and palanquins. One bad effect Mrs. Hatsell complains of their having already produced, that of making everything dearer.

We shall go from hence about this day fortnight to Sir J. Rushout's in Worcestershire, where I shall leave Mrs. Hatsell to attend the prorogation on the 27th. I suppose forty members will not attend, and that therefore nothing more will be done than the form of going to the Lords to be prorogued by commission. If, however, there should be a House, nothing precludes their doing business *before* the message by the Black-Rod. Perhaps it may be necessary to move some writ.

Mrs. Armstead left this place on Thursday, having, as she told people here, received a summons from Mr. Fox, that he was to be in town to attend a great Westminster meeting upon the 10th. We have in her stead got Dr. J. Jebb*, the great political Reformer. I left him about an hour ago disputing upon the walks with Pearson, the doorkeeper†, about the best mode of mending the Constitution. It

* Brother of Sir Richard Jebb the physician.

† Probably the doorkeeper of the House of Commons.

seems Pearson differs both with Dr. Jebb and Mr. Wyvill.*

I hope the employment of the hours you can spare from farming, will not, as you suppose, prove unprofitable to the public. Whatever may be the result of your inquiries into the income of the State, and which I am very much inclined with you to believe is much exaggerated by Mr. Pitt and his friends, it will be doing no little service to impress upon the minds of the people the *absolute necessity*, not of economy, but of parsimony, in the public expenses, particularly in the army and ordnance, and what are called incidental articles, which of late have increased enormously. I have not yet seen the Report about the Fisheries, but from the extracts of Mr. Anderson's researches, in the newspapers, I collect that it would be very advantageous to North Britain to take off the duties upon salt and coals, and to grant a variety of bounties. This may be true, for what I know, but will not be very palatable to South Britain.

Mrs. Hatsell has been remarkably well this summer, and is happy to hear so good an account of Mrs. Eden and all your young ones, present and to come. We have a comfortable society here, in a family-party of both my brothers and their wives, Mr. and Mrs. Powys, Andrew Stuart, and Capt. Rowden. We passed five very pleasant weeks in Hampshire at Sloane's, Mr. Ellis's, and the Bishop of Salisbury's. I suppose we shall hardly settle in town till after Christmas, as the meeting of Parliament will probably be the end of January. I saw the Speaker† only for an hour, as he returned from his Buxton expedition the day before we left Paulton's; both he and Mrs. Cornwall had received great benefit from the air and bathing, but I don't think he has grown *thinner*. They did not give a very favourable account either of Sir G. or Lady Cornwall. I hear Mr. Pitt has

* The Rev. Mr. Wyvill chairman of the Yorkshire Reform Association.

† Mr. Cornwall.

removed lately into Kent. Is it to be near *you*, or *the Chancellor*, or *Jenkinson?* I think you four would make a very good Interior Cabinet.

Pray give Mrs. H.'s and my best respects to Mrs. Eden, and believe me,

Dear Sir, yours most faithfully,

J. HATSELL.

Mr. Hatsell to Mr. Eden.

Northwick, Saturday, Nov. 5th, 1785.

Dear Sir,—Your letter found me just before I left Cheltenham. I brought Mrs. Hatsell here to Sir. J. Rushout's, and went to town for a couple of days to the prorogation, where the archbishop told me that your conciliatory visit to Bushey was interrupted by the lady's having sprained her foot. I suppose, by this time, all that matter is amicably arranged, and though the old peer has himself found such benefit from his matrimonial connections, he may, perhaps, have learnt that there is a possibility of happiness, though unattended with those advantages he has so comfortably experienced.

I am glad to receive your evidence upon the flourishing state of the commerce of the country. I have very little doubt but that, if party was out of the question, which is not to be expected, and *all circumstances* considered, perhaps not to be wished, but that measures might be adopted by suppressing smuggling and commuting particular taxes, that would have an astonishing effect in increasing the public revenue. The reducing the duties upon spirits, tobacco, and salt would operate like a charm; but other funds must be found, or the subsisting taxes must be collected with a degree of rigour and exactness that would give too good a handle for clamour and opposition. What other objection can there be to declare that, in payments of above a certain sum (suppose 10*l.*), nothing but a written receipt upon stamp should be evidence of a discharge. To take away *vivâ-voce* evidence, in

smaller transactions, might be too great an interruption to retail dealings, but in larger payments, I confess, no sufficient objection occurs to me, and the produce of such an alteration would be immense.

I shall be anxious to see in what manner Mr. Pitt applies the surplus he has, whatever it may be. What *I* should prefer, if it can be done without the danger of stock-jobbing, would be to enable certain persons to buy up Three or Four per Cents. at the market price: but I fear this is a trust too tempting to venture in any hands, as they would have the command of the Funds, and might raise them at pleasure. If we were secure of a continuance of peace, perhaps the applying this surplus to converting what are now perpetual into life annuities, might, to posterity at least, be the most advantageous. *This* is the difference between our situation and the French, which will set them first at liberty to disturb their neighbours' peace. The merely setting aside a certain sum, sacred at all events, to pay off part of the debt, appears to me, notwithstanding all the calculations of Dr. Price and Lord Mahon*, to be too dilatory, and therefore, in our present situation, too cold a measure, under a pressure of 270 millions. We shall, however, have the pleasure of hearing all these plans discussed, and it is some satisfaction that the country is brought into a state when we have it in our power to discuss this question with effect, and not merely as a matter of theory. Had the war continued as long as *some persons* in this nation wished it to do, it might yet have been several years before we could have *thought* of a surplus, much less have debated upon the best mode of applying it.

We are leaving this place on Wednesday, and going into Northamptonshire, to Sir G. Robinson's. The continuance of open weather is now of the greatest importance, as not only the hay but the turnips have failed in many counties, so that the farmers do not

* Lord Mahon married Mr. Pitt's sister. On the death of his father, 7th March, 1786, he became the third Earl of Stanhope.

foresee how their sheep are to subsist during a long winter. I take for granted, when the Chancellor and Jenkinson came to pry into the state of your farm, they were surprised to find the possessions of one in opposition in such good order, and in their mortification wished to have seen everything exactly the reverse. I suppose they returned to St. James's with sad and sorrowful countenances, carrying with them the plenteous produce of your vineyards. I have long wished, for the sake of the public, that the latter of these gentlemen had a share in the Government; he is certainly a man of talents, and habituated to business, and it is with me no objection to a man in the Cabinet that he has his master's confidence. We hope Mrs. Eden and your little ones are well. Mrs. Hatsell and I desire our best respects to her. You will scarcely settle before the end of January in town, nor we till towards the 10th or 12th.

I am, yours most faithfully,

J. HATSELL.

P.S.—I shall be glad to hear of any further pleasing information you may, in your researches, have to communicate.

Sir Grey Cooper to Mr. Eden.*

Worlington, Nov. 5, 1785.

My dear Sir,—I fell in with a friend, Sir Ralph Payne, on Newmarket Heath, on Monday last, and as we did not go to the betting-post, or were either of us in any respect knowing ones, he left Lady Payne and her Polish countess and came into my chaise, where we had half-an-hour's conversation on the present state of political things and men. The matter of our talk was somewhat like a letter *from a gentleman in town to his friend in the country*, or a dialogue between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Smith in the Rehearsal; he, like Mr. Johnson, though not a friend of the au-

* Sir Grey Cooper was celebrated for his knowledge of finance.

thor, seemed to know a great deal of what had been passing on the stage, behind the scenes, and even in the green room; and I, like Mr. Smith, knew nothing. I stared at every thing, and asked foolish questions. Sir Ralph is a warm friend to his party, and a sanguine politician; his hopes are always on the wing towards the object of his wishes; he turns the medal and looks at the side that is brightest, and to help things forward when they flag he is fertile in expedients, and projects of negotiation. But, alas! I was a man of so dull a conception, and so little faith, that he could not persuade me to think that there was any fair prospect of our future state being better than our present. I was, however, very happy to learn that you had with success interposed to bring about a reconciliation between Mr. North* and Bushey Park, I wrote a letter on that subject about a month ago, which I hope Lord North saw; and if I had had an opportunity of seeing the good man, I would have ventured to have spoken on that side of the question.

I had a letter last week from a quarter whence I generally receive correct intelligence, assuring me that those who converse with the Minister say that *he* is confident that he shall have not only a million but 500,000*l.* more to apply, during the course of the next session, to the reduction of the Public Debts. If this prophetical assurance shall be realised, *erit mihi magnus Apollo!* but here again I am a man of little faith. Mr. Locke has a learned, metaphysical, and most abstruse chapter on the distinct provinces of faith and reason, but however distinct those provinces may and ought to be with respect to revelation and religious mysteries, I cannot think them so in matters of accompt, or in the state of plain facts and figures. The accounts you moved for in the last session of the annual produce of the whole volume of taxes do not promise such an available surplus: and *quâcunque viâ*

* This is an allusion to Lord North's being offended at his eldest son's marriage with Maria Hobart, daughter of the Hon. George Hobart, afterwards third Earl of Buckinghamshire.

data, either by taking a fair average of the produce of all the perpetual as well as annual taxes, and deducting from it the annual interest of the debt and the Civil List, and providing for the annual supplies to be voted for the establishments upon the lowest scale, and for the deficiencies of the funds, *or*, by stating the Supplies, and Ways and Means, in the more usual and common parliamentary mode, and allowing three millions for the surplusses of the Sinking Fund, and 150,000*l.* for a lottery, and with a fair allowance for disposable money in Exchequer, I cannot contrive to make our income exceed our expenditure. I wish to have the assistance of the lights and information which you may perhaps be possessed of. It may, and I suppose is, assumed by the Minister, that the average resulting from the ten years' net produce of the old taxes is below the fair mark, and that the customs, excise, stamps, and incidents, will produce much more than that annual average. And this, I take it for granted, also assumed that the net produce of all the taxes since the 5th of January, 1776, is much below what they ought to produce and will produce; and to say the truth, I take it that this will be the case in a considerable degree. God grant it may! and that the Minister may not only promise but perform this most important national act of beginning to pay off part of the Debt. He must begin with the two millions due to the Bank, and the Exchequer bills, before he can arrive at an operation on the three or four per cents.

I am going to pass four or five days with a party at Houghton, and the same time at Rainham.* On my return I shall be most happy to hear of and from you, and to see your vessel of paper well freighted. The ladies, and my eldest son who is with us, desire to be kindly remembered to Mrs. Eden and you, and all your young folks; and I am, dear Eden, yours always truly and affectionately,

GREY COOPER.

* Lord Townshend's seat in Norfolk.

Sir Ralph Payne to Mr. Eden.

Swaffham, November 16th, 1785.

My dear Sir,—I long most eagerly to see you. Sir Grey Cooper, whom I accidentally met at this place this morning, in his way home from Rainham, tells me that he has received a letter from you, in which you display no very particular elevation of spirits from your opinion of the political atmosphere. If it should be very rainy when this reaches you, and you should be unable, even with your great coat and galloshes, to discharge the daily duty of your farm, perhaps you will say something to me of the conjectural kind, without the fear of communicating your vapours to me, who, you know, am of the true sanguine breed, and shall impute some part of your depression to the dreariness of the weather. I know not how the devil we are all to get *back again*. I never expected any degree of relief from the virtue of the worthy House of Commons, or worthier House of Peers. I never supposed that the other branch* of the legislature would take the case of this poor empire into consideration, and reflect how much honester and abler men those out of office are than those who are in; or if he did, I am not silly enough to imagine that much good would result. But I trust in the wisdom of Providence, that some new crotchet at Buckingham House, some schism in the Cabinet, or storm upon the Continent (which perhaps is brewing at this instant), some fit of bile in the Chancellor†, of intoxication in the Prime Minister‡, or patriotism in some honest turnpike man §, will at last effect what I am afraid the nation has not virtue enough to care about, and will enable me to greet you, with

"Turne, quòd optanti Divum promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda Dies, en, attulit ultrò." ‖

---

* The King. † Lord Thurlow. ‡ Mr. Pitt.

§ Pitt and Dundas, taking an after-dinner ride, galloped through a turnpike without paying the toll. The turnpike keeper fired at them.

‖ Æneid. lib. ix. l. 6.

Adieu, my dear sir! Lady Payne's and my best love, compliments, and everything that is good, ever attend you and Mrs. Eden; and I am, ever and ever,

Yours most affectionately,

RALPH PAYNE.

P.S.—Pray direct to me at Stephen Payne Galway's, Esq., Tofts, near Brandon, Norfolk.

Sir Grey Cooper to Mr. Eden.

Dear Sir,—I have, during the autumn, been employing part of my leisure in reading all the papers and correspondence between General Cadogan, afterwards Earl Cadogan, and Lord Townshend, and Lord Stanhope, &c. from the years 1715 to 1721. The present Lord Cadogan sent them to me in a large box, and I have, to my great amusement and information, ransacked it to the bottom. You know well the Treaty of Alliance which was made in the year 1716 between George the First and the Regent of France. The correspondence during the negotiation of that treaty (to which the States of Holland at last acceded) is very interesting and curious, and it may, perhaps, be worth your going to the Paper Office and casting your eye over the despatches touching that negotiation from the 6th of October, 1716, to the 26th of January, 1717, and particularly a letter of Lord Cadogan to Lord Townshend, of the 4th of December, 1716, stating the commercial advantages he had obtained for the States of Holland, and an engagement on the part of the Abbé Dubois that the same advantages should be extended to Great Britain whenever we thought fit to put our trade to France on the same footing with that of the States.

You will, I trust, excuse me for troubling you (and particularly at this time) with a letter; but I am apprehensive lest you should be gone to Paris before I return to London.

The ladies all send their compliments and good wishes to Mrs. Eden and you; and I am, my dear Sir, yours very affectionately,

GREY COOPER.

The writer of the following letter was a distinguished naval officer:—

Sir Andrew Hamond to Mr. Eden.

Gillingham, 10th Dec. 1785.

My dear Sir,—I have just been favoured with your letter, and could not have received a more sensible satisfaction from any event that had happened to myself than I now do, at finding your talents and abilities are again called forth, and intended to be employed on a matter of so great importance to the welfare of this country. I have for some time past wished to see you extricate yourself out of an entanglement that bore the worst of aspects, and I rejoice heartily to find you have been so lucky as to hit upon a mode of doing it so perfectly unexceptionable; for you stand so high with the commercial people of all parties, that no abuse can possibly issue against you for having undertaken the very business everybody would have wished you to do.

As to my Lord North, I am sure you will have found him both liberal and candid on the occasion; and as to Charles Fox, though I admire his abilities as much as anybody can, yet I am perfectly convinced that nothing but the death of the King, or a war, can bring him forward, and therefore I consider him destined to pass the greatest part of his life in opposition. I have heard the King speak of him with that indignation, that I really believe he would rather sacrifice everything than allow him to come forward. He therefore ought not to expect that people who are no ways proscribed should continue their adherence beyond certain limits. My Lord Carlisle, I hear, is

talked of as likely to come into office, so that upon the whole I think you may make yourself very easy on the score of difficulties and feelings.

I am glad to hear we are not to lose you immediately. When I know you are at Beckenham I shall take a ride over to you. Lady Hamond desires me to say, if Mrs. Eden will leave any of the children with her, she will take the greatest care of them. Perhaps it may not be inconvenient to you to pass a day with us on your road to France, and I will see you across the water. Remember us kindly to Mrs. Eden.

Believe me ever faithfully and sincerely yours,

A. S. HAMOND.

Mr. Hugh Elliot to Mr. Eden.

Bath, Feb. 12th, 1786.

My dear Eden,—The accounts I received of George's health prevented me from writing to you till I learned by your letter of the tenth that he was entirely out of danger.

I spent three days on the road between London and Bath, and enjoyed all the happiness of sauntering through a country full of a thousand interesting objects to one who has, for the last five years, seen nothing but snow and the dreary horrors of a northern winter in the month of February. It was with regret I again found myself under the necessity of becoming the inhabitant of a town, though I own that Bath is the pleasantest town to inhabit I ever was in. I mean merely on account of its beautiful streets and public buildings; for as to society or public places, the little I have seen of either does not tempt me to make one either of the public or private parties.

There are a number of beautiful women offered for public show on the ball nights: of these the greatest proportion are fair Hybernian nymphs with the most splendid (*tailles*) shapes that were ever composed of gauze before and cork behind. One glance of the rear

guards of Miss Cobb, Miss Gray, &c., had more effect upon my increasing health than all the hot water I daily swallow. But, alas! the dear creatures have got such Arrah, my dear Honey faces, that I fear they will subject their future husbands to numberless little mistakes.

My studies are Cook's Voyages, East India books, and pamphlets. My only companion Colonel Horneck.* As he served the whole of the last war in America, I have great pleasure in crossing rivers with the guards at the head of the column, in manœuvring numerous armies (consisting of fifteen hundred men), and in hearing many anecdotes which prove that nothing can surpass the bravery and activity of our troops, except the ignorance and incapacity of their leaders.

Upon the score of relationship I called on Mrs. Digby †, and found her a true Elliot, a thin, sensible, agreeable woman, with a bad stomach.

I also dined with the remains of the Duke of Northumberland.‡ He is off to-day for London in a woeful plight. How happy am I not to be an old Duke with an immense estate, many titles, and the advantages which opulence and rank are supposed to give to their miserable possessor! Alas, poor human nature! the skeleton appears through all the borrowed finery. May you nevertheless be rich, prosperous, and successful. My love to Eleanor and my little friends.

H. Elliot.

Sir Joseph Yorke to Mr. Eden.

Hill Street, March 19th, 1786.

Dear Sir,— You do me much more honour than I deserve. I have no merit but in my earnest desire to

* Probably the father of Goldsmith's friends.

† Mrs. Digby, the wife of Admiral Digby, was daughter of Andrew Elliot, late Lieutenant-Governor of New York.

‡ Sir Hugh Smithson, the first Duke of Northumberland, died in June, 1786.

be of service to you in any degree, be it ever so trifling. I am well aware that the affairs of this world vary so fast, that what was right or customary at one moment ceases to be so the moment after, and that five years' rustication at home renders me rather an old-fashioned foreigner. What I took the liberty to hint to you related merely to your credentials, supposing the same etiquette to subsist still at Versailles as did four or five and thirty years ago. At that time a Minister Plenipotentiary was an easier and more eligible character than an Envoy Extraordinary, because the former had the same advantages, but was not subject to a kind of half entry at Versailles, which the ministers of inferior courts looked up to, whilst those of the greater ones declined, reserving all kind of representation to the ambassadors only. If that etiquette is laid aside, all my reasoning falls to the ground; but if it still subsists, I thought you would do well to be armed with two credential letters, one styling you Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary together; the other only as Minister Plenipotentiary; either of which you might produce as you found most proper or agreeable when upon the spot, the only trouble would be the King's signing four letters instead of two; and if my suspicions have any foundation you would save yourself some puzzle and embarrassment.

As to the latter part of your letter, I am unequal to the giving you any material information concerning the persons mentioned. Some of them I know, or have known, but am ignorant in what way they act or think at present: a very short residence at Paris will make you master of them. I should not think M. de Ségur would have anything to do with you, though MM. de Castries and Calonne may; the first as having a great deal to do with trade, the latter as being at the head of the finances. M. de Castries is a *galant homme*, but a Land Marshal of France is more likely to depend upon his *commis* for all marine and

commercial matters than upon his own knowledge; and, indeed, the *ministres en sous ordre* are the ablest men they have. The Comptroller-General* is no favourite, I believe, in the nation, and will probably make way for a successor as speedily as those who went before him. M. de Bréteuil is rather warm in his manner and a little overbearing, but some advantage may be drawn from that as it makes him speak freer than a cooler man, and I always found him at the bottom an honourable one, with whom I could do business satisfactorily.

Amongst the Foreign Ministers the Sardinian is the most likely to give you good information, from his connections, and because at the bottom his Court is the most friendly to us, and as he was long in England he has rather a predilection for this country. Goltz is ill, I am told, with his master just now; he is a plausible man, but not much to be trusted. One of the Dutch, Berkenvode, interferes little, and lets his colleague, who is the tool of the patriots in Holland, do the business; but at the bottom Berkenvode is friendly to us. Of all the others I can only say that the Dane is probably the best-affected of the north, for Sweden is France, and the other seems to belong to the highest bidder. None of them, however, will stand in your way if M. de Vergennes has a mind to do the business fairly with you, which you will soon see, and you will find people enough to give you information.

Nobody wishes you success more cordially than myself, nor can be with more unfeigned esteem than I am, dear Sir, your much obliged and most faithful humble servant,

JOSEPH YORKE.

* M. de Calonne.

The following letters are to and from Mr. Eden whilst residing in France:—

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Downing Street, April 28, 1786.

Just returned from a fortnight's visit to Sheffield Place, I find your fragment of the 17th instant. We have been very impatient for an account of Mrs. Eden. We could only learn that she had been seen safe at Calais. That she is as cheerful and as active as ever is only like herself. We rejoice that she is at length freed from bustle and in a comfortable quiet house.

We now only talk of Hastings, and Whale Fishery, and Navigation Bill, and not much on anything except Hastings! The ridiculous Parliament has just determined to hear Mr. Hastings's defence before the evidence against him, but the Minister lost fifteen friends on the occasion, and you will hear that George Hastings not only voted, but spoke vigorously, against the measure.

The wonderful minister* takes every opportunity of showing how incapable his understanding is of comprehending certain subjects. He even goes out of his way for that purpose; and after Jenkinson had displayed on the whale fishery, he thought proper to exhibit, and I am told advanced, that oil is a raw material, and that no advantage is derived from exporting oil; and that the whale fishery did not raise seamen for the navy. It would have been utterly unnatural for him to tell the plain truth; that the bounties last year amounted to 85,000*l.*, that next year they would be above 100,000*l.*, and that the fisheries being in so flourishing a state so great an expense was not necessary, and that the bounties might be reduced from 40 to 30. So much for the Minister lest you should think me insipid. Why you should have great hopes of accomplishing and

* Mr. Pitt.

rapidly making progress in your business I cannot guess. You will daily find that there is still much to know.

I shall be eminently abusive if you lose sight of Spain. I most fear that for the sake of carrying some point that may make a flash you will commit yourself there. I mentioned in a late letter to you, sent by Mr. Hibbert, that for the present we had forgot your Treaty. That gentleman by himself, and a friend, pressed for a letter of introduction to you. He has a good West Indian estate; he is connected with the first people of Manchester. I suppose he understands manufactures and trade. He has an agreeable wife and chooses to spend some money on the Continent.

I have passed a considerable part of the morning with a deputation from the Bahamas. Luckily for you I have not time to add more.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

The following letter is from the "Admirable Crichton" of his time, Mr. Storer:—

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.*

Golden Square, April 28, 1786.

Dear Eden,—If my writing to you were in a degree an acquittal of the debt I owe you for the letters you wrote to me, while I was in France, I should very eagerly embrace an opportunity of discharging them; but I am afraid that a gentlèman who lives half the day with Dr. Harwood† cannot supply you with an account of the important events that this city pro-

* Mr. Storer was considered the most accomplished man of his time; he was a good Latin scholar, the best dancer, the best skater, and an excellent musician, &c. He formed a magnificent library, which he left to Eton College. He died 4th July, 1799. On his monument at Purley is incribed,

"Vir sui temporis multô elegantissimus,
Centum amator artium et in plurimis facilè princeps."

† Mr. Storer was reading the classics with Dr. Harwood.

duces, or at any rate you will hear of them from other persons much more capable than myself of giving you an exact account of them. By this time I hope that I can congratulate you upon having settled yourself. In a little time more I am sure you will like your situation. I hear, too, your negotiation goes on rapidly: in proportion, however, as you like Paris, I suppose you will retard your treaty; besides, if you go on very expeditiously you will not give your friends time to come and pay you a visit.

The assemblies in London are overrun with French: there is really a colony of them that take possession of every house in town. The invasion which was dreaded some years ago is now realised; and the wits remark that we shall have no peace for the French till we are at war again with them. The Duke of Orleans* and Fitzjames seem as much at home at Brooke's, as Hare, Fitzpatrick or Fox. Cambyses comes into assemblies, as he, in the absence of Adhemar, is deputed, I suppose, to do the honours to the French, with a string of a dozen of his countrymen. The Prince of Wales makes his serene Highness of Orleans drunk, so that the latter is likely to improve even his complexion by his residence in England. I heard of you some time ago, not at all *à la Parisienne*, for you were in a coach with Mrs. Eden, and half a dozen children. You will find that the French will be quite delighted with such scenes of conjugal and maternal affection. We have various reports here about you and the Duke of Dorset, not a word of which I suppose to be true. Lord Stanhope † has just published a pamphlet, in which he states Mr. Pitt's plan for the payment of the national debt is destructive to the country: it is said that Mr. Pitt took a great deal of pains to dissuade him from publishing it, but that his Lordship was resolved; consequently for once Mr. Pitt's eloquence was wasted. The newspapers talk of the Chancellor's being ill; but I have not heard anything of it *dans le*

* Father of Louis-Philippe.

† Mr. Pitt's brother-in-law.

monde. Lord Cornwallis* was in hopes about a week ago to sail by this time; Lady Wallace† wished to go in the same ship with his Lordship, but he was *si peu galant* as to refuse her ladyship, so her hopes of succeeding with the new Governor-General, as Mrs. Imhoff‡ did with Hastings, are at an end. It must be curious I think to hear Hastings speaking at the bar of the House of Commons,—the Proconsul of Asia attacked by that Irishman, Burke. When you have any time to spare, pray let me have a line from you.

How do you like Vergennes? Was his Most Christian Majesty very eloquent and conversable when you delivered *vos lettres de créance?* What did the Queen do? If it ever comes in your way, pray present the respects§ *d'un très petit Monsieur à son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères:* desire him to get the duty upon post-chaises taken off at Calais. Adhemar is at Bath, but the national debt will be paid before he goes a-tiptoe again. Give my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and wishing her and her children all happiness and prosperity, I remain,

Yours most sincerely,

A. STORER.

P.S.—Will you be kind enough to take care that Crosbie has the enclosed. Hugh Elliot has been losing his money to me at cribbage, but more, I am afraid, to others at whist.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Downing Street, 10th May, 1786.

We were rejoiced to hear of Mrs. Eden's safety. Your manuscript did not reach us so soon as the intelligence of the event, of which I had information

* Lord Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General of India.

† Lady Wallace, wife of a Scotch baronet, was a sister of the Duchess of Gordon.

‡ "Mrs." Imhoff sailed in the same ship with Warren Hastings, and afterwards, having procured a divorce, married him.

§ Mr. Storer had been Secretary of Legation at Paris in 1783.

at a bookseller's shop, even a day before your letter reached the archbishop at Lambeth. But my lady is quite penetrated by your attention, and be assured we were heartily glad to find all was well.

Matters go on here as usual. No fragment left of the original India Bill: the finance scheme universally scouted in city and country. The commutation tax almost generally reprobated. A pamphlet published by Rous, which contains the unanswerable arguments I made use of near two years ago, has had a considerable effect. They are very obvious.

Burke's charges made a very considerable impression and alteration in the silly public, but as none but downright enemies to Hastings will come forward to give evidence against him, and as such evidence will be slighted, and as arguments alone will not do, I suppose the opinions will not in the end be very unfavourable to Hastings, but the very unusually avowed maxims he laid down in a defence very injudiciously introduced, will not assist him; on the contrary, it appears as if part of what has been thrown out will stick. It was not suited to the temper of the times to declare profit a justifiable and proper motive for going to war. However, he so declared in the most distinct terms, and as if he was delivering one of the finest statements. At one time, it was thought the business must go to the Lords, but though the Minister has been much embarrassed, I think he will hang up the high crimes and misdemeanours till another session, thereby keeping the Bengal squad and some others in subjection.

Lord Cornwallis was knighted the last evening he saw the king. This is a prelude to giving him the Garter; but a chapter is not ordered, and I suppose nothing further will be done till there are more vacancies. All smile at the giving him the Garter, and say it should have been reserved till he had done something, and I am positively of opinion it should have been given to the Duke of Dorset, and so think many others.

Shall I send you any pamphlets? I do not care a great deal about you, because I do not believe you will send me any information worth having. As to your Treaty, I mentioned before that we have in great measure forgot it, but those who have not seem agreed that it can do no good. I do not meet with scarce one of another opinion. My lady continues indifferent. Our best wishes to Mrs. Eden.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

P.S.—If Mrs. Eden has any business to be done in London, Lady S. and I shall rejoice in doing it previous to our departure for Sussex.

Miss Catherine Ann North to Mrs. Eden.*

My dearest Nell,—Thank you a thousand times for your kind letter, and pink gauze, which I think the most beautiful thing I ever saw in my life, and am very impatient for some great ball, that I may make it up according to your directions, which, by the by, I think will spoil it; but, however, as they are according to the *ton*, I certainly will follow them exactly. I was in great hopes it would have made its appearance at a grand *fête* at Devonshire House, but I fear this sad affair of Mrs. F——'s will have put an end to all gaieties in that quarter. Perhaps you don't know what this sad affair is; I hope not, that I may be the first person to tell you of it. Last Monday morning I went to Kensington Gardens, and every person I met attacked me with, "Have you heard of the duel?" "Have you heard of the duel?"—"Oh dear no! Do tell me all about it. Where was it? Who was it between? What was it about?"—"Between Mr. F—— and Jack L——, this morning, in Hyde Park, about Mrs. F——; you know they have been going on shamefully a great

* Afterwards Lady Glenbervie, eldest daughter of Lord North.

while."—"Not I, indeed! They have flirted, certainly, too much, but many more shameful flirtations are about."—"Oh! that there are, certainly, witness Lady D—— and Mr. W——, Lady T—— and Mr. B——, etc. etc. etc. etc.; but this was very bad, indeed, and I make no doubt Mr. F—— has made very serious discoveries."—"Then you are not sure that he has?" "No; but nothing less could justify a duel; depend upon it they were caught."

But, however, it certainly is not so; for, upon further inquiry, I find Mr. F—— has not the smallest ground to believe himself actually in the *happiest state in the world*, but for some time has been uneasy at Jack's attention to his wife, and ordered her not to speak to him; but she had too much *spirit* to be governed by a husband, and I believe talked the more to him to show that she had. Some d—— good-natured friend (who is always at hand upon such occasions) wrote anonymous letters to Mr. F—— telling him all that happened, and a great deal more, till he was worked up to a most violent fury, and, one night, insisted upon her not going to Ranelagh, when she was engaged. But to be kept at home to please a surly husband was too much. She would go; and go she did. Her tyrant followed, and found her walking with the tremendous Jack, whom he tapped upon the shoulder and said, "Sir, this must go on no longer; you must never speak to Mrs. F—— more." Jack answered, "Sir, you have no cause for your suspicions, nor any right to order who I shall speak to." The husband then took the wife home. On the Sunday after the gentlemen were walking in Hyde Park, the lady walking in Kensington Gardens, when Don Orlando, in a violent passion, rode up to "the object of their different care," and told him he could not bear to see him *lurking* about in that place, and demanded satisfaction, which was promised him; and accordingly they met the next morning at nine o'clock. Mr. F—— fired first and shot Jack's hat, who then said, "Sir, fire

again, I have no quarrel with you." The seconds then interposed and parted them. Mr. F—— then set out immediately for Brighton, and declares he will never see his wife again. She is gone, in the utmost despair, to the Dowager Lady P——, her father having refused to receive her. I cannot help feeling sorry for her; for though her behaviour has, without doubt, been very imprudent, I do not believe it was more, and she is now utterly undone.

My best love to Eliza, etc. etc., and believe me ever and ever yours,

C. A. N.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, May 25th, 1786.

Dear Eden,—I do not mean to let this Friday pass without writing to you, but as I am afraid that I may not return from a morning's excursion to Chiswick time enough for the post, I begin my letter while my hair is dressing, in defiance of powder and pomatum. My errand to Chiswick is not only to see pictures, but also to pay a visit to Lady Payne, who is very far at present from being in good preservation. The physicians will not hear of her going to Bristol or changing the air. As long I suppose as they can get their fees they will keep her near town. The sale of the Duchess of Portland, with the different exhibitions, that of the Royal Academy, and the other of M. Desenfans*, have engaged the attention of the connoisseurs. Mr. Cracherode† has bought the Henry the Sixth missal, and Mr. Walpole‡ has bought the missal painted by Julio Clovio §; and, what is more surprising, Charles Fox has bought a picture for two hundred guineas at Desenfans. What will please

* Noel Desenfans, the picture-dealer.

† Mr. Cracherode bequeathed his fine collection of works of art to the British Museum.

‡ Horace Walpole.

§ There are great doubts as to the missal being really by Julio Clovio.

Mrs. Eden is, that we are going to have a great many marriages this spring; it is pairing time, and, therefore, not very extraordinary. Lord Fairford is going to be married to Miss Sandys; Lord Malden to a rich East India widow; and Sir Godfrey Webster to a West India heiress.* Lord Vernon is just married, or on the point of being so, to Miss Georgiana Fauquier. This is some comfort to me, and makes me hope that some woman may at last take pity on me, when I find that one of our own sex has chosen a lady so far advanced in years as Miss Fauquier; but, while these couples are entering the Temple of Hymen, there is one unfortunate pair retiring from it, and indeed their example is enough to deter such cautious old bachelors as myself from entering into any matrimonial engagements.

We are told that la Beauté de Joconde could not insure the fidelity of his wife, and we find that F——'s rare qualities could not engage the constancy of his. Joconde, upon this important discovery, did nothing, and it is said, *il fit bien;* but F—— has made an amazing fracas. Duels and separation already taken place. Hugh Elliot, I take for granted, has already given you an account of this matter. He was in the box at Ranelagh the night on which the altercation began. F—— insisted on L——'s not speaking to his wife. L—— told him that he could not submit to be dictated to by any person; that he F—— might impose any conditions on his wife, and might hinder her from speaking to him, but he was determined to address her, and immediately went to the box and desired her to give him some tea; the challenge, however, did not happen that night. The next morning they met again, somewhere in the neighbourhood of F——'s house, and there more words ensuing, on F——'s telling him he knew well what this skulking about his house meant, the challenge was given. F—— fired at L—— and

* Miss Vassal, afterwards Lady Holland.

missed him. L—— said he had no cause of quarrel against F——, and fired his pistol in the air, and so the matter ended. The seconds were Fitzpatrick, and young Fish Crawford.* F—— is gone to Brighton, and Mrs. F——, after having stayed a day or two at Lady Diana Beauclerk's, is gone to Lady P——'s. This matter, as you may well imagine, has engaged the attention and furnished conversation for the whole town, and is certainly a very bad thing. It interests a great number of people; some are sorry for F——, others think that it is only measure for measure, and that he deserves it. All are very much concerned, I believe, for poor Mrs. F——.

This is not the only matter of gallantry that will occupy the dealers in scandal; there is another, as it is whispered, which is now going on very rapidly, but, least you should not guess the parties, I must name them, and yet I should rather wish to excite your curiosity for a certain time; my paper, however, will not let me do that, and, therefore, brief: Lord Sydney is supposed to be desperately in love with Lady S——, and as he has surpassed everybody's expectation in his political career, it is not to be wondered at if he makes a progress in the lists of gallantry beyond what people at first would suppose him likely to do. If anything of the nature of a duel happens, I hope that Fitzpatrick and Crawford will be the seconds. All political events, I suppose, you are acquainted with. Opposition are not in very great spirits from Mr. Pitt's being once or twice in a minority. *Labitur et labetur.*

I remain,

Yours most sincerely,

A. Storer.

* Old Fish Crawford was so called from his curiosity.

Mr. Hatsell to Mr. Eden.

June 14th, 1786.

Dear Sir,—You will have heard, before this reaches you, of the event of last night—Mr. Pitt, Dundas, Jenkinson, Sir G. Howard*, &c., voting *for* the second article of impeachment about Benares. The Master of the Rolls†, Attorney-General‡, Mr. Grenville, Lord Mulgrave§, &c., *against* it. A great triumph to Messrs. Burke and Francis! We shall rise in about three weeks or something more, but I think the surplus, even this year, will be hard pressed *with* the East India 600,000*l.*; and *if* the relief offered to the Company should fail of success, the Ways and Means will be very short indeed. I wish you were here to persuade Wedderburn to be Chancellor, for, though Lord Thurlow is something better, his constitution has received a shake which he will never recover, and he would be glad to retire to the Common Pleas. Jenkinson's peerage is to be made out forthwith. You see the Wine Excise Bill has passed without the least clamour. He is adding to the duty on sweets, and mending and improving his other taxes, all of which, I think, will be much wanted.

The proceedings of his Most Christian Majesty raise a shrewd suspicion that his consort is not so clear in this business as she would wish to be thought. They would otherwise have permitted the sentence to be executed on Madame de la Motte. Our stocks keep up, and, if there is no foundation for this report about the American armament, will, I should suppose, be at 75*l.* before the 10th October. The American loyalists are a very heavy load upon us, as you will see by the account of the money voted for them in this Session. The Bank debt is also now to be discharged, so there will be five and a half

* Sir George Howard was one of the "King's friends."

† Sir Lloyd Kenyon. ‡ Pepper Arden.

§ Constantine John, second Lord Mulgrave, born 30th May, 1744, died 10th October, 1792.

millions Exchequer Bills, great part of which will *next year* probably be funded. The Duke of Northumberland has left about 250,000*l.* to Lord Lovaine, and a good 50,000*l.* per annum, with his boroughs, to Lord Percy, but nothing to Dutems, nor Mr. Reevely, nor any of his relations, and very small legacies to his servants. He is to be buried on Monday, in Westminster Abbey, in great state. Mrs. Halifax is much recovered, and going to Bristol. Lord Grantham is very bad *indeed*. We have nobody yet named for *Spain*, nor for a successor to the Duke of Northumberland's riband. Lord North and his friends voted last night against Mr. Hastings, but stayed away upon the Rohilla war. I hope you are pleased with the portrait the Archbishop sent you out of the magazine, at least Mrs. Eden cannot but be captivated with it. Has the Queen yet seen your children? Mrs. Hatsell joins with me in best love to them and Mrs. Eden.

I am, my dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
J. H.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, June 16, 1786.

Dear Eden,—Mr. Hastings seems now to engage our attention more than he ever did. You will, by this night's post, receive all the newspapers, which will give you a full and true account of Tuesday's debate. The opposition are all astonishment at Mr. Pitt's dividing with them, and Hastings's friends are full of resentment and indignation against him for having done so. The Chancellor continues very ill, who is, as public report says, Hastings's firm friend. It is suspected that Pitt meant to have the credit of appearing impartial, and therefore voted with Fox, intending, however, at the same time, to have been in a minority himself, but his friends were to much attached to him to leave him so disgracefully in a minority, therefore voted with him, whereby he was, against

his inclination, found in the majority. These are the speculations of ignorant people, with whom I converse, that do not know what passes behind the scenes, and, therefore, I conclude they are not much to be depended on. I do not want to find a man who will give me a GOOD opinion about these events, but merely to get an opinion, whether good or bad, no matter; but nobody can account for these things.

We thought his Britannic Majesty might be acting an exact counterfeit to what his Most Christian Majesty is doing; and that while the Parliament of Paris was acquitting, and Louis XVI. condemning the Cardinal, our King might be defending Mr. Hastings, while the Parliament of Great Britain was impeaching him. But as Jenkinson and Dundas, Sir George Howard and Powney*, voted with Fox and the majority, we begin to apprehend that number one† is not so great a friend to Hastings, as we supposed. The day after the debate, a diamond arrived from the East Indies, as a present to the King, which Major Scott either presented himself, or delivered to the proper person to be given to his Majesty. The friends of Hastings say, that if he had bribed as high as Rumbold‡ did, he would not have got into this scrape. .It is disagreeable to me to write to you about public events, because you must, even at a distance, know more of them, and be better able to account for them, than I can, or any of those whom I frequent, who must, necessarily, be very much, at present, in the dark.

I am glad to find that the duty on carriages is taken off, or going to be so, as I certainly meditate an excursion to Paris. Nothing but the *res angusta domi* will keep me at home. I return you thanks for the hospitality and *bonne chère* you offer me, and can very fairly say, that your bribe would be a principal inducement to me for undertaking my journey to

* M.P. for Windsor, one of the "King's friends."
† The King. ‡ Sir Thomas Rumbold.

Paris. Besides *pour la rareté du fait*, I should like to meet you and Mrs. Eden in the fourth* country. You remember, that if you go to Bengal, I am to go as your first minister to Calcutta. There is no other part of the world left for you to go now.

A creation of baronets, you see has taken place. They talk daily of a creation of peers; I am not sure that they are not already made. Jenkinson has one leg already in the House of Lords, Bankes†, too, is close on his heels; there are two more, whom I have heard named, but I do not recollect who they are. Town is still pretty full. A good many people at the opera. The new Imperial Minister‡ is arrived; I hear he is a great *connoisseur* in books, and has brought a great library with him. The North family are going, for a few days, to the Bishop of Winchester's. Lady Clermont§ I have seen since her arrival. I find she has puffed you prodigiously at Paris, as a prodigy of talents and political knowledge. She tells me that you assured her that you would not stay in France more than six months; you will, and the more you stay, I believe the more you will like your *séjour*.

Give my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and believe me most sincerely yours,

A. STORER.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, June 30, 1786.

Dear Eden,—I cannot let this post go away without acknowledging your short, but very entertaining account of Parisian news, and I wish I could return you anything as agreeable, in order to make up for the shortness of my present letter. I came home last night, or rather very early this morning, after having

* Mr. Storer had already met Mrs. Eden in England, Ireland, and America.

† Mr. Bankes was never created a peer. ‡ Count Rewitzky.

§ Lady Clermont, wife of the last Earl of Clermont, a great friend of Marie Antoinette.

lost more money at faro, than would have paid for an expedition to Paris, cursing myself for my folly and obliged to lay a-bed all the day from the fatigue of sitting so many hours at play, and from having got, what I do with a great deal more ease than I do money, viz., a head-ache. London seems at present moving into the country. Everything against Mr. Hastings is over for this Session. Major Scott's* account about Mr. Hastings's letter, and the message which he was to deliver to Lord Sydney, seem to make this affair about the diamond very mysterious. It is strange that eleven days should elapse without his being able to see the Secretary of State, when the letter was so very pressing for his delivering the message. Lord Fairford and Sir Godfrey Webster are married, the first yesterday, the latter on Tuesday.

It is said that his Majesty either has or means to interfere respecting Stuart's fighting Lord Macartney† again. Stuart has published a pamphlet, wherein he says very harsh things to Lord Macartney, and what seems to be perfectly unjustifiable after a duel. By the by, I hear that my friend Crosbie has been waiting in the Champs Elysées an hour and a half for his antagonist, and was at last disappointed. The world thinks the Duke of Dorset very much recovered. Adhemar is upon the point of going to Paris, not much regretted, very few people, I believe, wishing for his return. Lord and Lady Beauchamp talk of going to Spa, and from thence to Paris; as his Lordship is not very decided in his motions, you must not be too sure of receiving a visit from him at the Hôtel d'Elbœuf, they are both gone to Ragley for three weeks or a month. George North's wife lays in at Bushey; that's a piece of news for Mrs. Eden, to whom of course you will remember me. I remain, &c., yours very sincerely, A. STORER.

* Major Scott was Hastings's agent.

† Lord Macartney, late Governor of Madras. Stuart was Commander-in-Chief. They quarrelled, and a duel was fought on June the 8th in Kensington Gardens.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Dear Eden,—It gives me great satisfaction to receive a confirmation of the accounts I have heard that Mrs. Eden and you find everything agreeable to you at Paris. Early hours and short dinners are great circumstances in your comforts, and the air as well as the diet is much lighter, I believe, than in London. There is no point of French breeding I admire more than the precision with which they observe the hour of any appointment, and the neglect of it is the most uncomfortable circumstance of a London life. My dinner-parties have been brought within a very narrow compass for some months past, and I believe, nothing has contributed so much to preserve me in better health and spirits than I have usually felt at the close of a very busy term. Since the first of May, I have never had one vacant day, and seldom passed less than six hours in court. My other work has been entirely stopped, for there is no thinking what the law of England has been, when one is employed every hour in deciding what it is. I have drawn a plan of a much larger edifice than I shall live to finish, though a great many of the materials are provided, and I have got my building above ground, for I have completed the first part, which comes as far as the reign of Edward I.: the books I chiefly want are, "Les Etablissemens de St. Louis," "Les Assizes de Jerusalem," and "Beaumanoir."* I am not able to give a more accurate account of them, for the books which refer to them cite them without any particular description. The last of the three I take to be a work similar to our "Littleton," and equally well known in the law. A little bookseller† goes from hence in a few days, by whom I shall trouble you with a letter, and ask your protection for him.

The great subject of conversation here, is the Prince's reform of his establishment. The account of

* An edition of this work was published in Paris in 1690.
† Edwards of Pall Mall.

this event in the newspapers is true in substance, but false in many of the particulars. The fact is, that having received what he took to be a decided refusal of any aid to discharge his debts, he formed, without communicating it to any person, a determination to retrench. The first intimation of it was by a letter to Lord Southampton, expressed in very kind and handsome terms, directing him to signify his intentions to the rest of his family, and to bring his key. A general sale of his horses, and other measures to reduce all unnecessary expenses, were immediately ordered, and I am persuaded will be steadily pursued, because I know with certainty that the idea was the result of his own reflection (no adviser having ventured to propose it), and had been long in his mind, though never declared. He is pleased with himself, as I understand, and the public seems unanimous in approbation of his conduct. I was much afraid of the next accounts of poor Lord Northington; he is a great loss to his friends.

My best love to Mrs Eden and all your nursery.

I ever am, dear Eden,

Yours most affectionately,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, July 14, 1786.

Dear Eden,—I arrived in town late last night, when I found your letter upon my table. As I have not the books, &c., about me which are necessary in order to answer the researches of your female inquirer satisfactorily, you will forgive me if I postpone answering your letter on that subject till the next post, or perhaps till this day se'nnight, that I may not put your Excellency to the expense of postage. I have been for a few days making a circuit about Bushey and Richmond. On Monday last Mrs. North was brought to bed of a son, which died on Wednesday. Mrs. North, as I understand, bears her loss

with fortitude, and is very well. The death of this child is, I take for granted, a great disappointment to George North. He still continues as domestic as ever. By this time you have forgotten all conversation about the Cardinal and Cagliostro. Madame de la Motte, though *inscripta nomine regum*, probably will not be for the future much talked of.

The Prince of Wales will supply you, as he does us, with ample topics for conversation. Economy and reform are the principles on which he is to act. I think if he expects that his Majesty will be induced by any motives to pay his debts, that he is mistaken. The King's own letter seems to preclude him from laying any burdens on his subjects, *i.e.*, from paying his Royal Highness's debts, but undoubtedly the Prince of Wales will pay his own debts by persevering in the plan laid down: *et cela revient au même.* Besides this measure is likely to gain great popularity; it is just and honourable, pleases the young, and must be approved of by the old; none can complain of it but some of his servants, who have no other resource but from the Prince's salary attached to their offices: such, for example, as Lord Spencer Hamilton and Mr. Stanhope. Jenkinson is made a Peer, and there was a report that he was to have the Duchy of Lancaster,—Lord Clarendon to resign in his favour, and Lord Hyde was to have Lord Galway's place, what he was to have I did not hear. This may be, and is most probably, all a lie. Lord Galway, if he can afford to make his late purchase, does not seem to want a place. He has bought Clermont for thirty thousand pounds. I heard, too, from tolerable good authority, that Lord Apsley was to have the reversion of Lord Thurlow's tellership, but Welbore Ellis* told me in the town of Richmond yesterday morning, that there was an Act of Parliament which made that impossible. I had not time, being on a fretful horse, to

* Afterwards Lord Mendip.

stay to hear the whole of his argument, and took my leave of him uninformed.

Keene* has a most delightful villa at Richmond. It is pleasant to see a man who had two houses gratis, and a place in the Chamberlain's department, who was so poor as not to be able to subsist, and now that he is deprived of both of his houses, and his place, he is laying out a great deal of money in alterations and improvements. Do not talk to me of Cagliostro's resources,—Keene's are full as wonderful. Neither the Duke of Queensberry nor George Selwyn were at Richmond: it was not wonderful that the Duke of Queensberry was not in his own house, however beautiful and comfortable it might be, he had rather be in the worst inn than in the best house of his own. As I am an idle man, my Greek master† having left me on account of his paralytic disorder, I shall undertake your lady's business, and busy myself with the family of Vere for the next two or three days. Give my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and believe me yours, &c.

Most sincerely,

A. Storer.

* Colonel Keene.

† Dr. Harwood.

CHAP. XII.

The King and Queen at Blenheim.—Lord Harcourt's sufferings.—Mrs. Eden's Nursery. — Mr. Storer at Paris. — The Duke of Dorset's opinions of merchants. — Lord Sheffield's attacks on the Commercial Treaty.—Mr. Eden's defence of it.—Lord Sheffield and the Duchess of Gordon. — Sir James Harris and the French Count. — Plays at Richmond House.—Blindness of Lord North.—The Polignacs. — The Prince of Wales's Debts.—Alderman Newnham's motion.

THE reader of Madame d'Arblay's Diary will recollect her complaints about her sufferings when at Nuneham attending on the Queen. It appears from the following letter from the Duchess of Marlborough that the great personages worked harder, although they did not complain so much. Complaints, too, are made of the inattention of Lord Harcourt's family. No doubt the thoughts of the family were directed to their Royal Visitors. Lord Harcourt's sufferings seem to have been of the severest description.

The Duchess of Marlborough to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Blenheim, Aug. 16th, 1786.

My dear Lord,—Ever since I received your letter I have been too busy to answer it. We were much obliged to your Grace for your intelligence concerning their Majesties, but no invitation was required, as Lord Harcourt wrote the Duke of Marlborough word of their intention of honouring us with their company to breakfast, but made a mistake in the day, which would have been very disagreeable had we not got better information from their Majesties themselves at Oxford, where we went to receive them, and

made part of their suite in the theatre. The Duke of Marlborough wore his doctor's gown, and he and Blandford stood in the area with the doctors, and kissed the King's hand immediately after the Vice-Chancellor. Lord Harcourt stood by the King's chair. Their Majesties were much pleased with their reception both at Oxford and here, as they were so good as to say, and, indeed, considering the shortness of the notice, it all went off very well. They stayed here from eleven till six. We had breakfast for them in the library, and after they returned from seeing the Park, some cold meats and fruit. Lord and Lady Harcourt told us that we were to sit as lord and lady of the bedchamber all the time they stayed here; and poor Lord Harcourt seemed quite happy to be able to rest himself, and the Duke of Marlborough found him sitting down behind every door where he could be concealed from royal eyes.

We were just an hour going over the principal floor, as they stopped and examined *everything in every room*, and we never sat down during that hour, or indeed very little, but while we were in the carriages, which fatigued me more than anything else, as I was not at all well at the time. Lord Harcourt told the Duke of Marlborough that he had been full-dressed in a bag and sword every morning since Saturday, but the Duke of Marlborough could not follow his example in that as he had no dress coat or sword in the country. He desires me to tell you that he had no misgivings, all the apprehensions were on my side; nobody could do the thing better or more thoroughly than he did. His eyes are better, and he means soon to bathe, which, I think, will contribute to strengthen them.

I must assure your Grace that I am much flattered with the compliments you pay me, and I assure you I did the best I could to make good your words. How far I succeeded I cannot say. I have now written a much longer letter than I intended, but the subject must be my excuse for taking up so

much of your time. Whenever you have leisure, a letter from you will give me great pleasure. I was very glad to hear what you told us about the Prince, as it enabled us to contradict many ill-natured stories that have been propagated in this neighbourhood respecting his reception at Windsor. Their Majesties did not name *him* at all. The accounts you will see in the papers will probably give a much better description of all they saw and did than I can, for, indeed, my head is far from clear, and has ached ever since they left us, but I was determined not to put off writing to you the first moment I could. We all join in compliments to Mrs. Moore.

I am, my dear Lord,

Your affectionate and faithful friend.

The Duke of Dorset to Mr. Eden.

(Most Private.) London, August 18th, 1786.

I have only a minute's time to inform you that Lord Hawkesbury showed me to-day the draft of the treaty they wish to have concluded with Spain, which they mean to send to Madrid in a day or two. He asked me whether I thought it best to communicate the contents of it to M. de Vergennes, or to let him wait for that intelligence from the Spanish Minister. I advised him to lose no time in acquainting M. de Vergennes with it, who would be exceedingly flattered by such a mark of confidence, and begged Lord Hawkesbury at the same time that that intimation might be conveyed by you to M. de Vergennes, having no sort of confidence in *my deputy**, so that I hope in the course of a week you will have this commission to execute, unless a *noble Marquis*† should throw some difficulties in the way, and wish this business to go into other hands, which, by the by, *entre nous*, I don't think he has *credit* enough to effect. There was an amazing full levée to-day;

* Mr. Hailes, the Secretary of Legation, at Paris.

† Lord Carmarthen.

addresses from all parts; Lord Clarendon has the post office. Lord Tankerville resigned on account of Palmer* (the projector of the new plan) being appointed Comptroller-general, which in fact renders the Postmasters without power or use. *Several originals* were knighted, all of whom I have forgot, and hope never to see again. Few people in town. The Duke of Rutland *mal à son aise* in Ireland; the Whiteboys beginning to grow exceedingly troublesome, upon whose account he has been obliged to defer his tour into the north. Mr. Orde is gone to Spa, and Sackville Hamilton is the active man. The gay world in London is all dispersed, and Brookes' is reduced to a little *sober* whist, which I have contrived to let cost me near five hundred pounds. I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and believe me most truly and sincerely yours, DORSET.

P.S.—Mrs. Nicholson is very quiet in Bedlam; she has desired to have the use of pen, ink and paper, which they have given her; the Chancellor is better; Lord Mansfield but so so.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Bath, 6th Sept. 1786.

Dear Eden,—It was not till Monday last that I knew you had been so good as to procure for me the two books I mentioned to you, though I understand they have been a long while in my study. At the close of the circuit, I went to Tunbridge, where Lady Loughborough had been for some time, by Farquhar's direction, and had no intercourse with London. I passed through it on Monday, in my way to Bath, where I was obliged to go, not on account of health, but to enable our friend Payne† to bar an entail of an estate in Antigua, "Beaumanoir" seems to be ex-

* Mr. Palmer was the "Rowland Hill" of his day; he carried out the mail-coach system.

† Sir Ralph Payne.

actly the book I wanted, though I had not time to compare it with the passages cited by the Abbé Mably, which had occasioned my desire to possess the book.

It has been a great mortification to me to be obliged to pass so much time at Tunbridge, neither amused nor employed, though I have the satisfaction to find that the waters have been of great service to Lady Loughborough. Lord Mansfield, I am afraid, will not do equal credit to them this year; their powers as to him become less effectual every season; very few of your acquaintances, or of mine, have been at Tunbridge this year, and the place has been altogether uninteresting.

Edwards expresses the highest gratitude for your kindness to him, and thinks himself under most essential obligations for some introductions you procured him. It has not fallen in my way to see any of the travellers from Paris this summer, but every report says that Mrs. Eden's nursery is the admiration of the Court and town; that they make parties to see it; that she has made domestic life quite fashionable, and they are only surprised to find that she has not yet written any books for the instruction of her children. I take it for granted that you will pass a good part of the winter abroad; the society at that season, I have always been told, is much more agreeable at Paris, and more united than it is in the summer, and I am sure the reverse of that is the case in England.

From the meeting of Parliament all society ceases by the continual interruption of late hours, and the conversation becomes only a hash of debates.

My love to Mrs. Eden and all her little Parisians. I ever am, dear Eden,

Yours &c.

LOUGHBOROUGH.

The Duke of Dorset to Mr. Eden.

Knole, Sept. 8th, 1786.

Dear Eden,—It is the old story over again of my not returning to Paris. I assure you at present my

intention is to be with you next month without fail. My family affairs will detain me till towards the 16th or 17th; and I cannot leave this country without putting things upon a footing that they may go on without me. I saw Lord Hawkesbury yesterday at Court: upon the whole, he is *much satisfied with your proceedings*, but is not quite so with M. de Vergennes. You may, perhaps, have it in your power to repair this, and I hope you will, as I should be sorry that those who are always preaching up the doctrine of mistrust in French professions of friendship should have the least reason to encourage others in the same sentiments. Dundas is just arrived from the Highlands, and a consultation has been held about Indian matters. It seems there has been some awkwardness respecting the searching of French ships. Macpherson and the council have given up the point, contrary (at least) to the meaning of the last Treaty of Peace. Mr. Pitt, I believe, is a good deal displeased with the Governor* and Council upon this occasion.

The proposed Treaty with Spain is not yet sent; perhaps Lord Walsingham may carry it. I think you might mention it to M. de Vergennes in a very confidential way, but, however, I cannot pretend to advise you. Lord Hawkesbury told it to me in confidence. Our *window*† friend does a great deal of mischief; he writes all sorts of nonsense, and makes mountains of mole-hills. No man, I believe, is more desirous of becoming a mountain than himself, but, however, I don't think, as yet, he is in the right road, and will continue for some time a mole. The Archduke‡ and his spouse *s'amusent beaucoup sur les trottoirs*, and walk about the streets all day long. The King and Queen have been very gracious to them. The Prince of Wales had a bad fall from his horse last Tuesday, but re-

* Sir John Macpherson was Governor of Bengal.

† Mr. Hailes, the Secretary to the Embassy at Paris, is here alluded to. The Duke and Mr. Eden had talked about his demerits near a window.

‡ The Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Christine, sister of Marie Antoinette.

ceived no hurts; he has verified the *old proverb*. I hear no more of the cordon, but I think it is in a fair way for me, *so I say nothing;* the first time you see M. de Vergennes *dites-lui, je vous prie, bien des choses de ma part.* Pray make my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and believe me most truly and sincerely yours, DORSET.

P.S.—The Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch propose setting out for Paris in about ten days, on their way to Rome.

The Duke of Dorset to Mr. Eden.

London, Oct. 6th, 1786.

Dear Eden,—Many thanks to you for your agreeable intelligence respecting the success of your Treaty. I sincerely congratulate you upon it. You have found by experience that I did not overrate the disposition of the French Court in being ready to meet us half-way at least. I am convinced things may be carried still further, if we wish it, here; but I have not yet sounded Mr. Pitt or Lord Hawkesbury upon that head.

I was in hopes of being able to set out next week, but the absence of Mr. Pitt from London prevents me; he is gone to his mother's, in Somersetshire; he is exceedingly afflicted at the loss of his sister*, and Mr. Eliot is quite inconsolable.

You will see by the papers that Fawkener has kissed hands as Commissioner to settle a treaty with Portugal. He sets out this day on his mission; he hopes to return time enough to lay his business before Parliament, in December; the meeting, I hear, is fixed for the latter end of next month.

I saw the Chancellor, the other day, at Buxton; he is certainly recovering very fast.

I know no particular news. People in general are very much pleased with your Treaty; the principal

* Lady Harriett Pitt, married to Mr. Edward James Eliot, son of Lord Eliot.

merchants in the City don't choose to give an opinion about it; anything, if novel, is apt to stupify merchants. They think, if they go out of the beaten track, they must be losers.

I never saw the King in such spirits,—they rise in proportion to the stocks, which are beyond the sanguine expectations of everybody. The Heir apparent is still at Brighton and drives the whole world away.

I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Eden.

If the Queen and Monseigneur should ask any more after me, pray say the delay of my arrival is no fault of mine.

I hear no more of the *riband** from *head-quarters*; but everybody tells me I am *certainly* to have it; a few days must clear up this mystery.

I am most truly and sincerely yours,

DORSET.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

25th Oct. 1786.

I have letters from all parts of this island, and as yet there seems to be general approbation; but that need not be very flattering. Scarce anybody knows enough, or will know enough, to find out defects for some time. I cannot sufficiently admire the following paragraph in your letter:—"The unwise system of modern party exertions will help John Bull to be absurd, wherever any handle presents itself." Nothing can be prettier, more innocent and sentimental; but I wonder you should expend such pretty things on me. You mistook. They were intended for some of the Chambers of Manufactures. Be it known to you that we, the friends of the country, shall think it our duty to point out and remonstrate when mischief threatens, lurks, etc. I, however, have been so simple a politician as to state that you had done your business well; and having had a correspondence with

* The Duke of Dorset was most anxious about the garter. He was disappointed on this occasion, as it was conferred on Lord Cornwallis.

chief of all kinds, except those of the immaculate administration, my opinion, with a reserve, is pretty well known, but I have always declared much depends on what administration may further do.

I am glad Mrs. Eden has had an opportunity of seeing Fontainebleau. My Lady is quite well, and is quite of your faction. I do not mean that she attaches herself much to Mr. Pitt. She is, however, jealous of Mrs. Eden, and says I am blind to the same merits at home.—Yours ever most faithfully,

SHEFFIELD.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Brighton, 20th Nov. 1786.

I write this in time that it may meet you on your arrival at Beckenham. Perhaps you may find Lambeth too distant from your business. I told my friend Wyatt that he might let my house in Downing Street; if he has not, you may find it convenient from the 28th November to the 14th of December, and not prevent the letting of it. It is the last winter the age of my daughters will allow me to stay in the country. If I don't let the house, I may be tempted to London as I was last year. I have a considerable operation in the building way to begin in the spring. I shall spend my time and money most to my satisfaction in the country. If the house is not let, you may have it very reasonable, for the year. It will be a fine situation for flirting with your new master or for attending *the War Office.* The house is very convenient, and excellent stables and coach-houses in Fludyer Street belong to it.

I shall be very desirous of seeing you. I wish Mrs. Eden could come and look at us. I shall have difficulty in getting to London, for I expect different sets of company after my return to Sheffield Place next Sunday.

As you begin to be too vain about your Treaty, it is necessary that I should prepare for your arrival a

statement of the mischievous admissions and lamentable omissions in the Treaty. I forgot to acknowledge in my late letter that no envoy or politician ever expressed himself so amiably and sentimentally as you—viz., that you would not promote the hellish trade in negroes. However, your amiability will not prevent the trade; you do not know what an immense business it is. Please to recollect that our islands could not be cultivated without them. Pray write as soon as you arrive.—Yours most faithfully,

SHEFFIELD.

P.S.—There is a good sort of woman in the Downing-Street house who would assist your servants.

The Duke of Dorset to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Paris, Nov. 23rd, 1786.

Dear Eden,—Nothing material has happened since you left us, not even *un réchauffé** from our window friend. The King saw the foreign ambassadors on Tuesday, on purpose to give me an opportunity of delivering my letters of notification of the melancholy event of the Princess Amelia's death. Their Majesties were of course *pénétrées*. I have seen Messrs. Boulton and Watt; they are gone to-day to Versailles to meet M. de Calonne and M. de Vergennes. They are both very respectable men, and will do the greatest credit to our country if they have spirit to employ them. Calonne, I know, has enough, but I doubt old d'Argevilliers. I let them into the secret respecting the coolness if not enmity which subsists between Breteuil and the Comptroller†, which they felt the importance of, as both those Ministers are pressing them to undertake jobs in and about Paris. They spoke in high terms of the Treaty. There is no news as yet from Rayneval. M. de Vergennes is some-

* The *réchauffé* was the despatch sent to the Foreign Office from the embassy. The duke did not appreciate the literary efforts of his subaltern.

† M. Calonne.

thing better, though he mends but slowly. I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Eden. The children were all well last night. Adieu.

Most truly and sincerely yours,

DORSET.

Mr. Storer was now in Paris, and seems to have been very active in superintending the education of Mr. Eden's children.

*Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.**

A l'Hôtel du Palais Royal, Thursday, Nov. 23rd, 1786.

Dear Eden,—All your children are perfectly well, or were so yesterday morning. *Je ne les ai pas embrassés d'aujourd'hui*, excepting Eleanor†, whose sore throat, however, is better than it was when you left Paris. I have seen them with the French, the drawing, and the dancing-master‡; it is perfectly *l'Ecole des Arts*. I know of no news since Monday, except that the Treaty of Commerce is in the French Gazette, and of course, from its publication, it becomes again a subject of more conversation. William§ seems not to divert himself so well as he did with you. He is obliged to make a *pis aller* of the groom, with which he is not quite satisfied. Give my best compliments to Mrs. Eden. I hope she and the child are not the worse for the journey.

I remain, yours, &c., most sincerely,

A. STORER.

P.S.—Eleanor says that she does not know what is become of her sore throat, so that we may safely say all is well aboard our vessel. Adieu!

* Mr. and Mrs. Eden had gone to England for a few weeks.

† Afterwards Lady Buckinghamshire.

‡ Mr. Storer's own dancing was perfection. Lord Carlisle writes to George Selwyn, in 1775:—"Why should you not tell me what Storer said at Richmond? But whoever was offended must have forgiven him when he danced his minuet at the assembly, or he must have been a very hard-hearted person indeed."—*George Selwyn and his Contemporaries*, vol. iii. p. 108.

§ Mr. Eden's eldest son.

The Duke of Dorset to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Paris, Dec. 7th, 1786.

Dear Eden,—There is a very great dearth of novelty here; old Vergennes is very far from well. I mentioned to him the substance of your letter to me, which flattered him; he told me the Maréchal de Castries has already returned to him the project of the articles respecting the Consuls. I shall refer you to my public letter for news. What Hailes's *réchauffé* to Fraser is this week I dont exactly know; but there is great room for speculation and conjecture about Holland, Prussia, and Austria. Madame de Lamballe has been very ill of a fever, but is now out of danger; she inquired very much after you, and Mrs. Eden. I told her you meant to return about the 17th. I understand that Lamotte, the husband of the famous lady of that name, is going to publish a memoir in England, about the affairs of the necklace, the Cardinal, &c. As much mention will, in all probability, be made of the Queen, it is a pity such a publication could not be stopped, as it can contain nothing but falsehood and calumny, and will create much ill-humour and even acrimony *à la Cour ici*. If a good clever fellow, who was well acquainted with the parties, and the transaction, could be found to answer it *immediately*, the effect here would be much lessened; and I see no other remedy, as it must be impossible to prevent the publication. Le rédacteur du *Courrier de l'Europe* is paid by the French court. Might not he be prevailed on to undertake for a hundred pounds or two (the money would by no means be thrown away) to undeceive the public. I assure you this is an object in the present temper of the times *worth attention*. We have plenty of English here, Lord Pembroke amongst the rest. Vos enfans se portent bien; but I have never yet been able to go to them (as Mrs. Eden heard me tell them), at *pudding time*. My best compliments to her, s'il vous

plaît. Pray bring me a new Court Calendar and Almanack. I am, with the greatest regard and truth, yours most faithfully and sincerely,

DORSET.

P.S.—Mr. Pitt told me he would send me a letter, to show to Lord Hervey; will you be so good as to remind him of it, and tell him it is not yet too late.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

A l'Hôtel du Palais Royal, Dec. 7th, 1786.

Dear Eden,—I hardly know whether it is worth while writing to you, as most probably, if you set out time enough to get here by the 15th, you will have left England before this reaches you: but to announce to you that your children are well is always a good reason for writing. They were flattered with the hopes of a visit from Madame Lascape; but she never came. Our dancing and French masters have gone on prodigiously well. They have invited me very often to come to dine with them, but as yet I have not been able to accept of their invitation. Since you left Paris I have received a letter from Lord Beauchamp, who means, as he says, to pass part of the winter at Strasburg. It is not exactly the place where I should choose to pass my time, had I the power, as Lord Beauchamp has, of living very well in either Paris or London. I am sorry to find that Sir Ralph procrastinates his journey to a warmer climate: you may depend upon it that he has no time to lose.

Your accounts are bad of Frederick North* and Lady Elizabeth†, but I hope all will turn out well. Morton is a lucky fellow to get so large a fortune. You know how difficult it is to pick up any news here; except what regards oneself there is very little else to be known. I have dined with his Grace of Dorset, Aranda, Roucherolles, Souza, &c. &c. Lord Kerry is

* Third son of Lord North.

† Lady Elizabeth Henley, sister of the last Earl of Northington, married 7th August, 1783, to Mr. Morton Eden.

coming into the Hôtel de l'Université. The Baron Bezenval's house is very pleasant: there I get whist —at the Salon they play too deep for me. I know very little of the motions of our countrymen. I believe that the great General Dalrymple goes away to-day. He is no great loss, except amongst the *filles de l'opéra.* Lord Pembroke* is arrived here. He went from Sicily to Gibraltar, from thence to Lisbon, and so on to Madrid, from whence he is now arrived at Paris. Were I my Lord Pembroke, I think too, as I do of Lord Beauchamp, that I should prefer Wilton and Ragley to Strasburg or Gibraltar. Mrs. Greville is come to stay some time in Paris. I am to dine with her on Friday at the Duc de Nivernois'. I go to-day to hear a dramatic piece read at Madame de Roucherolle's — *voici de mes nouvelles:* as for any other, I know none; your correspondent will inform you in your weekly letter. Adieu. Give my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and pray bring me some shirts.

I remain, most sincerely yours,

A. STORER.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Sheffield Place, 11th Feb. 1787.

I know nothing about Carlton House. I have understood that neither the Prince nor his friends wish to bring forward anything relative to him at present.

I delayed writing because I supposed you would be in London last week to prepare for the debate of to-morrow; but as you mention no such intention, and I hear nothing of you, I suppose you do not intend to appear till the detail is debated, yet I do not understand how you are excused present attendance.

You are a peg too high at least on the subject of the Treaty. It will be incumbent on us to bring you a peg lower. You say, as *to these matters*, living in the kingdom of France is like living in the kingdom of heaven. I apprehend, when you arrive you will

* Henry 10th Earl of Pembroke.

rather fancy yourself in the other kingdom. You will not find the Treaty quite so great a favourite as you imagined. Some of the manufacturers who expect an immediate profit and for a few years, still seem friendly to it, but I do not hear of any others, who pretend to have any comprehension of the subject, that are not alarmed. I am not content, from this my retreat, *spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas*, but I take every proper opportunity of writing grave letters, filled with sagacious, firm, vigorous opinions; and am almost ashamed of *our* eager expectations from a French Treaty. I have really figged myself so high on the subject, that if I had not had communication with you, I verily believe I should write strenuously against it, and with as much force and as good argument as ever I did or was supposed to do. The political part is a fine theme, and there is good nibbling at least at the tariff.

I am afraid you will repent your inattention to *my sage advice*, viz., not to conclude too soon. It would have been prudent to settle with Portugal first, and to have finished the treaties with Russia and Spain. It was a wicked thing to quarrel so incessantly with Portugal, which takes more of our great staple woollens than any country (six times as much as Russia), and whose imports from this country are increasing so much. But to return to the manufacturers: it must be your education in France that has made such a change in your manners and politeness towards them; for I remember the time when with great liveliness you wondered how I could find time to talk with them, that *you* could not, and with difficulty suffered Mr. Wedgwood to be introduced to you while I collected and collated other friends. These tender remarks undoubtedly are due to you; as to the rest you should be grateful to me, as perhaps the only friend that does not flatter you too much. As to pamphlets, they come out in such abundance that I could only read the two first; and if it is the complete investigation that you mean, I entirely agree

that it is completely incomplete; yet there are some good parts; surely it is time something better should appear. There are several pamphlets with references on the top like mine.

Yours faithfully,
SHEFFIELD.

Mr. Eden to Lord Sheffield.

Paris, Feb. 1787.

My dear Lord,—Many thanks for yours, because I am sincerely glad to hear from you, even when I cannot assent to one single line in your letter.

The death of M. de Vergennes, preceded by a three weeks' illness, has thwarted my plans most desperately, for I am, at this hour, precisely in the situation, as to all matters of business, as I was on the day of signing the Convention—M. de Vergennes' illness having taken place the day following, and his successor being yet hardly warm in his office. Consequently, the few arrears which I have necessarily to settle before I go, and which I hoped to have finished about this time, remain *in statu quo*. In other respects also, and in a more serious degree, the death of M. de Vergennes gives me the utmost concern. I have seen many public men of different countries and descriptions, and it is a justice which I owe to the dead, without any disgrace to the living, to say that I never met with any man whose manner of acting, both in official and private life, was to me more satisfactory or more pleasing. During nearly ten months that I had almost daily access to him, I never met with any circumstance that gave me even a momentary distrust; in the beginning of our negotiation, when I had a great want of language, he was patient, polite, and encouraging: he gradually became cheerful, cordial, and friendly; and the last morning that I passed with him, which was the last of his doing business, I could not help remarking, when I came home, that it was impossible

for me not to acknowledge that his conduct towards me, from my first arrival to that moment, had been such as to entitle him both to respect and affection. I know that in England we have, in some quarters, unforgiving feelings relative to him*; but I know also that he had great public talents and great private virtues. And in discussion between man and man, I always found that he went as directly and as fairly to the point as Mr. Fox himself can do, which is saying much.

How can you twist and pervert your own superior understanding so as to affect even to give countenance to all the anti-Gallican nonsense which is encouraged in England? It does well enough in House of Commons speeches when the subject furnishes nothing better; but, further, when the feelings of coffee-houses and tavern meetings are in question it is a poor business. I am not so respectful, however, towards my countrymen, as to deny that it is possible to persuade a great number of them that the treaty of commerce has repealed Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights, and the Habeas Corpus, and has actually introduced an universal excise and wooden shoes. But it will be the nonsense of a few weeks, and they will afterwards consider it with the same sneer as you would do if you were at the opposite side of this table and were talking fairly about it with me. I certainly do not pretend to foresee to what this new friendship between the nations will tend; possibly to something bad in the course of time. Still less do I pretend to foresee to what the contingencies of the old system of commercial hostility would have tended; probably, also, to something calamitous, and that soon. But in the mean time I am satisfied by all the sound principles of national policy that I can trace in the writings of David Hume, Adam Smith, Lord Sheffield, M. Necker, etc., that it would not only

* M. de Vergennes was Foreign Minister during the American war, and had materially contributed to the loss of the American Colonies.

have been absurd, but immoral in the extreme, to have declined the present experiment, great and precarious as it may be. In the present moment it gives bread and employment, and prosperity, to millions; and as to futurity, the prospects are, at least, as good as they were. So much for my creed: at the same time, I have perfect charity towards those who either think or pretend to think otherwise. I can even read with complacency those resolutions to which my old friend, Mr. Walker, has been induced to sign his name, though they are grossly the reverse of anything that is called either wise, or acute, or ingenious.

When you menace me with the wavering and fickle disposition of the manufacturers, you remind me of what I well know. It is very certain that those who gain on such occasions, are shy and sly, and snug and silent; that those who do not gain, are disingenuous, and sullen, and suspicious; and those who either lose or think that they may lose, are confoundedly noisy, and absurd, and mischievous. Such is the state of men: and yet I wish them well, whether in this courtly state of banishment, or in the groves of Beckenham, where I shall be glad to find myself in a few weeks, and to have the occasion of making a visit to Lady Sheffield, who, I am sure, will not have lost her good sense in despite of all the perversions that her lord is propagating.

Where did you find that the export of woollens to Portugal is increasing? The fact is not so. For the last four years it was little more than 400,000*l.* a year, and formerly it was near 600,000*l.* It sounds pompous to say that it is six times greater than to Russia; but it is greater even to little Denmark, and four times greater to the Dutch Provinces than to the Imperial Russia.

I must finish, being summoned by Mrs. Eden and the girls to a childs' ball.

Believe me, my dear Lord, ever most sincerely yours,

WM. EDEN.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Sheffield Place, 27th Feb. 1787.

I am sorry for Vergennes, on your account. In one respect I think it advantageous to you. It will be a good excuse for your not appearing in Parliament this Session to defend your infernal Treaty. It is absolutely necessary and incumbent on us to abuse you when you pretend to defend it. If you are wise, you will avail yourself of the opportunity of passing your time agreeably.

I like your account of Vergennes very much. If his death had happened sooner it would have been more fortunate for the English ministry; it might have interrupted the Treaty, but it can now only perplex the execution of it. Every disappointment, check, and failure will very properly be laid to the charge of the new system; and the Minister will soon feel the consequence of his rashness in departing from the old course which had proved so successful. I knew nothing of Walker's* resolutions in the Chamber of Manufactures till I saw them in the newspapers. They were very moderate and proper. But Wedgwood having managed so ill, and Walker being *denied* at Manchester, I apprehend the Chamber will become very insignificant. I am sorry I was not in London to assist. I know little except from newspapers, from which it appears that the Treaty has been very ably attacked, and most miserably defended, in Parliament. The young gentleman† is going on just as I could wish, very extravagantly and very absurdly. Why is he to be so much commended for the mechanical operation of simplifying the customs?

I intended to have sent to you a statement much in favour of the reduction of the duty on brandy to

* Mr. Walker was a Manchester manufacturer. He disapproved of the Treaty.

† Mr. Pitt.

5*s.*, which shows also that it is not necessary to reduce lower on rum than 5*s.*

N.B.—There is a difference between necessary and prudent. I have not time nor space for it at present. It would be a proper measure in respect to revenue, independent of the Treaty, emphatically called the infernal. The Duchess of Gordon * will dance my house in Downing Street down. The Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert † were there a few nights ago. It was observed what a revolution had taken place in that house. I promise a ball to your and my daughters there next winter. Lady Sheffield continues to be prejudiced in respect to you, but cannot be so weak as to approve the Treaty.

Yours faithfully,

SHEFFIELD.

The following letter is from Mr. Eden's brother-in-law, Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury:—

The Archbishop of Canterbury to Mr. Eden.

Lambeth House, March 9, 1787.

Not having seen the protest ‡ in the newspapers, I send it you as a matter of some curiosity. The last days of debate were marked by a considerable degree of eagerness and peevishness, particularly on the part of Lord Stormont, and in some degree on that of Lord Loughborough. You have seen the accounts of the pulling caps between the Duke and the Marquis.§ Most people enjoyed it. We suppose it not to be over; for there appears still a considerable resentment on each side, though not enough to produce anything serious in Hyde Park. People talk of your going to Spain. The Archbishop of York asked me

* Lord Sheffield had let his house to the Duchess of Gordon.

† The Prince of Wales's marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert took place Dec. 21, 1785.

‡ The Protest against the Commercial Treaty.

§ The Duke of Richmond and Lord Lansdowne had a violent quarrel in the House of Lords with respect to the Duke's fortification scheme.

to-day with what foundation. I ventured to say none. Your mother begins to have fears. Opposition play Jenkinson's game for him by daily calling upon and reprobating the Secretaries of State, who continue, like Lord Godolphin, to say nothing, and will so continue. Lord Porchester speaks sharply and vehemently, but *sans conséquence.* The Dissenters are about to move for repealing the Corporation and Test Acts, which occasions much dilemma to the Minister, for he must take a part. Beaufoy* moves it, whence many suppose Mr. Pitt means to support it. I have, however, good reason to be sure he has not as yet at least made up his mind so to do. I know, too, that Lord Lansdowne is† secretly the first mover of this business. If Mr. Pitt is neuter, it cannot pass the Commons, but if he is wise he will prevent its getting into debate there. Should it be discussed, it will be curious to see the management on the different sides of the House. The Speaker and Hatsell tell me they have no idea of its not being rejected upon the first motion. My anxiety on this subject makes me doubt this.

I long to hear you are in habit of communication with M. de Montmorin, because, *cela étant,* we may expect you the sooner. I hear not a syllable of arrangements here. Adieu! My love to Mrs. Eden and your children.

Ever most affectionately yours,

J. CANTUAR.

P.S.—Hastings‡ is coming up apace to our house. I am sorry Sir Gilbert is the man to pursue Sir Elijah, who is so nearly concerned with Alexander Elliot's§ friend.

* Mr. Beaufoy's motion was rejected by a majority of 78.

† The Earl of Shelburne was created Marquis of Lansdowne, Dec. 6, 1784. A step in the Peerage was the only offering made by Mr. Pitt to his former chief.

‡ Warren Hastings.

§ Alexander Elliot, brother of Sir Gilbert. He was in the Civil Service in India, and was a devoted friend of Warren Hastings. He died in 1777.

Sir James Harris to Mr. Eden.

Hague, April 10th, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I must have recourse to your friendship to assist me in a matter of private business, which will, I hope, however, be attended neither with trouble nor inconvenience to you.

Comte de Cotleun, whose name I believe scarce can be unknown to you, since he is supposed to have been a principal director in the affairs of the Court of Versailles here previous to M. de Rayneval's arrival, owes me 27,250 livres, which he has expressed a readiness to pay to any person I may appoint at Paris. I know no one through whose hands I can so safely trust such a considerable sum to pass as yourself; I have, therefore, written to him to-day to acquaint him that he will oblige me by paying it *immediately* to you, and to take (should he think it necessary) your receipt for it. But in case (and here is the only trouble this business can give you) you should not in the course of four or five days after the receipt of this letter hear from him, you will do me an essential favour in reminding him of his promise by sending him the enclosed note, and by adding a few civil but significant words of your own, in order that he may feel you are more or less interested in the business, and that I deem it full time for him to liquidate a debt contracted near a year ago.

I am sure, my dear Eden, you will forgive me plaguing you with this commission, nor be surprised at my not being disposed instead of cash to receive 27,250 livres in civil speeches and fair promises.

When you get the money you will be kind enough either to remit it here or to England, by a bill of exchange, according as the course of exchange should be between the two countries. If, contrary to my expectations, Comte Cotleun should shuffle and prevaricate, I shall advise with my friends what steps I shall then have to take in order to bring him to

reason. I however have no reason to expect anything but absolute poverty will induce him to delay or hesitate. Of course I flatter myself I shall not prove very troublesome to you on this occasion.

I was made very happy to hear from Count T. Bentinck, that we have some chance of seeing you and Mrs. Eden here in the course of the summer. Nothing will give us more pleasure. Harriet joins in every kind compliment. Believe me, my dear Sir, most truly and sincerely, your most faithful and sincere friend,

J. HARRIS.

P.S.—You will be so good as to let me know beforehand of your coming, that I may get you apartments.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, April 10th, 1787.

Dear Eden,—I do not write to you to-day by way of sending you any news, for I am too new myself in London to know any; but I take the first opportunity, even though I make you pay the postage of a letter for it, to thank you for all your civilities to me at Paris. Besides this, it is time that I should answer a letter which you wrote to me about seven months ago, and which I have never received till my arrival here. I congratulate you, of course, upon your having signed the Treaty, and am glad to find that it is concluded so much to your satisfaction in all respects. I hope, as you do, that it will tend to make us long and intimate friends with so great a country as France. My reason for having *cut* writing was that I intended to come and see you. If civility is shown by the length of my visit; perhaps I shall pass for a polite man. As you have, since the writing of your letter of the 28th of September, 1786, made a journey to England yourself, you perhaps there did what you wanted with regard to the por-

traits of Lord Loughborough and Lord Thurlow, if not, you will give me your orders again.

I wish you a very pleasant voyage to Fontainbleau. Much is said here about your going to Spain. I believe Lord Walsingham flattered himself that you would accept the embassy in order that he might be sure of keeping the Vice-treasurership, which, it is said, notwithstanding your refusal, Lord Walsingham will find it difficult to keep. Mr. Pitt wishes to give it to some one else. You must be better informed on these matters than I can be; but I tell you the common reports of the town.

So far has it been considered as certain that you were to go to Spain, that letters have been written to me to advise me, if I ever meant to serve in the diplomatic line, to apply to you to interest yourself in my favour to obtain the secretaryship of the embassy at Madrid. Mr. Liston being to be sent elsewhere, where he may have eight pounds per day.

I saw Lord North before he went to Walmer; he is grown very thin, and is all but blind—he could not distinguish the colour of the wine.

As a piece of news for Mrs. Eden, Lord Herbert* was married on Sunday.

A play is going to be acted at Richmond House, which occupies the public attention, but will not satisfy the town, as there can be only about eighty persons admitted at a time, and there are to be but three representations. Mrs. Bruce, Hobart, and Damer†, Lord Derby, Mr. Edgecumbe, and Sir H. Englefield, are the principal performers. How Mrs. Damer got there is a difficult matter to explain. Mr. Walpole says she will act excessively well. I forgot Mr. Arabin‡, a famous actor, is to be one of the performers.

His Majesty has not been well. The Prince of

* Lord Herbert married a daughter of Johnson's friend, Topham Beauclerk.

† Mrs. Damer, daughter of General Conway, Horace Walpole's friend.

‡ John Arabin, an officer in the Life Guards, father of the late Serjeant Arabin.

Wales shook Mrs. Fitzherbert by the hand, both last night and the night before. If you are not satisfied with such important intelligence as this, Lord have mercy on you! Moreover, I played two rubbers of whist with Sir John Eden, last night, at Brooke's.

Major Scott*, as you will see by the papers, has got himself into a ridiculous scrape. I do not know what sort of an understanding one ought to have to conduct the affairs of a great empire; perhaps Mr. Hastings and Mr. Scott have abilities of that sort, necessary for so important a task; but I am sure that the two first men that one meets in the street could have managed the *citra mare* business better than either of them.

Considering I thought that I had nothing to tell you, it seems that my matter has grown upon my hands.

Give my best compliments to Mrs. Eden; and hoping that all your *bambini* are well, I remain yours most sincerely,

A. STORER.

P.S.—Madame de Lascape never sent me my pack of cards.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Sheffield Place, 15th April, 1787.

Your last fragment forbids me to write, saying you would immediately write fully, and I have daily expected a letter. Many thanks for the Calonne performance.

It is amazing how totally we have forgot you and your Treaty. The newspapers scarce mention either. The amazement has been the curious revolution in the business of Hastings, and the coalition of Pitt and Burke against him. The consultations and combinations of the said Pitt, Burke, and others—their amiable

* Major Scott was Hastings' agent.

conferences; but the whole was not perfectly amiable until the Lord Mulgrave burst forth with characteristic virulence against the man whom he had so lately cherished and defended, and whose prosecutors he had constantly declared to be malicious, factious, &c. It should not be forgot that scarce anything new has come out against Hastings this session; that the charges against him were printed last year, &c. &c. To be sure, it would have been full as well if ministers had examined the subject, and had made up their minds on it a little sooner.

I have been uneasy about Lord North's eyes. I have been very inquisitive relative to him: my last information is from Sir Grey Cooper about a week ago. His nerves were much agitated and shaken by his exertions on the Test Act. He did not sleep at all the subsequent night, but he is now pretty much the same as he was before that service. His eyes are very weak,—a melancholy consideration at his time of life. I am seriously grieved about him. I suppose Mrs. Eden has accounts of him, yet the above may be acceptable. We hope that lady is quite well, and all the infantry.

William Grenville states himself as the commercial minister of the House of Commons, but one of the most intelligent men I know has acquainted me that his late speech on the American Intercourse Bill was miserable. It is generally allowed that Pitt's speeches on the Treaty were bad. In general, it has been exceedingly ill defended.

Yours faithfully,

SHEFFIELD.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Morton Eden.

Séve, April 26, 1787.

My dear Morton,—Many thanks for yours of the 20th. It found me settled here, where we all have already profited much by the good air, though, till yesterday morning, it was of the churlish kind; but

the smell of Paris about this time of the year is an abomination.

I sent your parcel of patterns as directed; the person had already written to me about it. Mrs. Greville acknowledged to us the receipt of the parcel, and I wonder that she did not also write to you, as she is exceedingly punctual and polite.

Lest the money due to you from Mrs. Eden should be forgot, she wishes you to take occasion to receive it of Mrs. Sneyd, who will charge it in my account.

The Archbishop did not write to me on Friday last; and the newspapers which I received make no mention of the debate in the House of Lords.

Lord Carmarthen seems to be in a most precarious state of health.

I suppose that this will find you at Bath. If you should stay their till the arrival of the Polignacs, you will take occasion to get introduced to them by Lady Clermont or the French Archbishop. We have received infinite civilities from them here. The Duchess is elegant, but cold and reserved. The Countess Diane* is good-humoured and sociable (about forty-five). The Duchess de Guiche† has a most beautiful face, and is pleasant and cheerful. The Duke de Polignac is one of the most gentlemanlike men that I have ever seen. M. de Vaudreuil is said to have considerable talents; I have not happened to meet him much. The Duke de Guiche is a good-natured young man. I suppose that they will all be chiefly in the Duchess of Devonshire's society. The novelty of the scene will amuse them whilst the novelty lasts; but they will grow tired. They all love play, to a certain degree—billiards, quinze, &c. I believe that they go afterwards to Spain. I think you manage ill in your arrangements to go towards the climate of Dresden in the autumn.

Hugh Elliot writes to me that he expects an im-

* The Countess Diane de Polignac.

† The Duchess of Guiche was the daughter of the Duchess of Polignac.

mediate leave of absence again. What does this mean?

Love to my sister. Yours very affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, April 27th, 1787.

Dear Eden,—I did not mean to make a practice of writing by the post. The last time I wrote, I did so from my *empressement* to make my ackowledgments to you; that being done, I intended to revert to the old conveyance as the safer and the cheaper too. You completely disappointed me by being silent on French politics. What a storm you have had since I came away, very sudden and unexpected to you courtiers at Versailles. I wish you joy of having moved to Séve, though, by the account of the magnitude of the house, and the greatness of the rent, I am afraid you will not move to save. I am living in expectation for the next courier to leave the news which you have promised me. The intervention of my old friend was not an extraordinary thing, but his passing the day afterwards with Him, and not mentioning that I had arrived, or that he had seen me, seems to indicate a degree either of ill-humour or indifference about me, which mortifies me much.

The motion which is to be made in Parliament with regard to the Prince of Wales is the subject at present of conversation. Alderman Newnham* is to take the lead in this business, but he is not supposed to be able to add much dignity to the measure by his personal influence, nor likely to insure it much success by his superior abilities. I do not understand that the heads of Opposition either approve of it or mean to support it. A few days will show us the event. You see Mr. Pitt is copying

* M.P. for the City.

French measures by his farming the revenue. This will not signify much to a private traveller like myself. The innkeeper is the man most likely to be the loser. Last night, I saw Sir John* in a great crowd at Cumberland House. Her Royal Highness† only opens her house now once a fortnight, by which means when it is opened it is so crowded, and so full, that it seems as if it would take a fortnight to empty it.

You may tell Mrs. Eden, as a piece of news for her, that Miss Bennett is going to be married to Sir John Swinburne‡—if I recollect, that is his name. I am not sure about the name, but I am positive about the match, and that is the thing that engages her attention principally. I heard of it where I dined yesterday, and Mrs. Bennet§ told me of it herself at Cumberland House. Adhemar gave, ten days ago, a most execrable ball. There never was known, even at his house, so general a dissatisfaction, and that is a good deal to say. I think that I have now told you what little news there is, both public and private. I am in great impatience to hear from you. Adieu.—I am, &c., yours most sincerely,

A. STORER.

The following letter is from Lord Beauchamp, the friend of the Prince of Wales. It contains a curious account of the Prince's canvassing the House of Commons in order to obtain a large grant of money :—

Lord Beauchamp ‖ *to Mr. Eden.*

Dear Eden,—I have not written to you of late, because, except your Treaty, of which you know

* Mr. Eden's brother, Sir John Eden.

† The Duke of Cumberland, brother to the King, had married a widow; Mrs. Horton, a daughter of Lord Carhampton.

‡ Sir John Swinburne married, 13th July, 1787, Emma, daughter of R. Bennet, Esq., of Beckenham.

§ Mrs. Bennet was a sister of Sir Peter Burrell.

‖ Afterwards second Marquis of Hertford, grandfather of the present Marquis.

from better authority every circumstance that has happened, the political world has been a mere blank; but within these few days an event has started up, of which I will relate to you the particulars, leaving it to your better judgment to draw your own conclusions. When the Prince of Wales first resolved to apply to Parliament for relief, the case was, in everybody's apprehension, so desperate, and in the opinion of some was liable to such objections, unless previously assented to by the Crown, that many of his most respectable advisers declared off, and it was universally supposed that for want of support the plan must fall to the ground. His Royal Highness, however, persevered, and it has since appeared that he went upon such grounds as nobody suspected him to have. A previous conversation on the subject, which was evidently sought for by Mr. Pitt, and in which he threatened the disclosure of many secret particulars, from which the House unanimously concluded that Mrs. Fitzherbert was in his thoughts, and that the inquiry into the transaction* was to be the instrument of deterring the Prince from a further prosecution of his project. It produced, however, a contrary effect, and gave the Prince an occasion of serving his cause with the public most materially by a flat denial of the imputed marriage. The ground was then changed; and Mr. Pitt declared his meaning to be that it would be necessary to have the items of the debt incurred before the public, and also the private correspondence with his father. On the Prince's part, the challenge was instantly accepted, and the turn of the debate and the impression it made was for the first time evidently in his favour.

A new circumstance now occurred. Mr. Pitt opens a correspondence with the Prince, and declares in general but intelligible terms, that he has the strongest wish to avoid every cause of personal

* The marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert.

offence to him, and Mr. Dundas's favourable disposition is indicated by circumstances, of which I need not trouble you with the details. From this period the business assumed a different face, and the Prince begins a most active canvass of the House; applies by letter or personally to every little knot of members, and indirectly to almost every individual, offering to submit his plans and his interests to the country gentlemen, producing his accounts, showing every letter, and, by the specimen I have seen, he has been guarded to an extreme degree. In short, Marsham*, Powis†, Hussey, Pulteney, Astley‡, and others of that calibre, became converts to his cause, in spite of their original dislike to it. On this footing the business rested, when, the night before the motion was to be made, Mr. Pitt acquaints the Prince, by letter, with His Majesty's gracious intention to comply with his wishes, and only hints at previous explanations being made by the Prince, by which it was understood that in future he was to be *no party man;* but, whatever interpretation was intended to be put upon them, the Prince instantly communicated his readiness to acquiesce, and personally to assure the King of his resolution to act in future as he would wish. The motion is, in consequence, laid aside, but to this letter, though four days have since elapsed, no answer was given till this morning, when the King signified his disapprobation to the increase of the Prince's allowance at all events, and also to the payment of his debts, unless the accounts to be produced to him of the amount should prove satisfactory. The Prince has accepted this qualified offer, and promises instantly to send a précis of his affairs.§

I am, dear Eden, ever yours,

BEAUCHAMP.

* M.P. for Kent. † M.P. for Northamptonshire.

‡ Sir Edward Astley, M.P. for Norfolk.

§ The Prince ultimately obtained an additional 10,000*l.* a year, and 161,000*l.* to pay his debts, besides 20,000*l.* for the repairs of Carlton House.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Sheffield Place, May 10th, 1787.

I have been in London for some days, and did not meet any body who thought it worth while to notice you or the horrid system of which you have been the instrument. Indeed the Prince's business afforded full occupation, and its various changes have furnished excellent food for politicians. A letter from the Prince to his father received a harsh answer, which produced the precipitate measure commenced by the Alderman, unapproved by any considerable, and I may almost add inconsiderable, man in opposition. Young as well as old wish to avert it. The Duke of Portland acted with great good sense, good temper and spirit. The Prince was eminently strenuous and steady. He had long talks with some leading men, and began to bend when Mr. Pitt certainly made a very material move towards him.

Some time before this, the amiable Rolle*, with his usual elegance and good judgment, insinuated that the Church and State were in danger from the Prince's connection with Mrs. Fitzherbert, which Pitt not only adopted by nods and such like parliamentary applause, but even in a speech. The same evening, when another subject was before the House, he endeavoured to explain it away. On his return to Downing Street, he sent for Lord Southampton, who waited on the Prince next morning, with what is called an apology, from Mr. Pitt. The Prince told Lord Southampton he never received verbal messages except from the King. From this time he was eager to declare that he was not married, and Mrs. Fitz-Herbert insisted that she should not be considered. Opposition has gained credit, and deservedly, by its conduct in this business. Charles Fox, however, and a great part of them could not have avoided support-

* M.P. for Devonshire, afterwards Lord Rolle. Mr. Rolle was continually alluding to the secret marriage of the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert. The "Rolliad" was named after him.

ing Newnham's motion if it had been made. There would have been support from some quarters, and probably opposition from others where it was not expected.

At the Carlton House meeting last Friday, it was the universal belief that the Prince's affairs were settled, and the public seemed to rejoice that the baneful difference between father and son was healed. Some think that Pitt has so bound himself that he cannot again break loose, but, from various appearances, it is believed that he hoped to find more suppleness in the King, and that, being disappointed in that expectation, he has fallen in with his master's way of thinking, in despite of the paper chains which, a few days ago, he imposed on himself.

Last Monday produced the ultimatum from the King that he would not recommend an increase of income, nor even a payment of the debt, till he had completely examined the particulars of it. The Prince has very properly considered the declaration as serious, and on Tuesday was to furnish a précis of his affairs; but as the nature of the examination is not specified, nor the time it is to last, no sanguine expectations can be raised on the present appearances. If it should be thought necessary to resume the adverse plan originally intended, the Prince will then be well supported by numbers as well as by talents, and the King will trace great insincerity, at least in the conduct of those who surround him. But not even this business made half the impression on me which my visits to Lord North did. He has no hopes; he says he has no expectations but of darkness. He held up his hand and said he could not see it. He was, however, pleasant, and with his usual ability took up the subjects of the day. I was made the more miserable, as I expected to find him better. There is some consolation in his not being able to see the melancholy aspects of his family around him. My lady and I were very glad to hear your brattery is recovered, and that you talk of visiting us with

Mrs. Eden in autumn. You will find Gibbon here. If Mr. and Mrs. Trevor are at Paris, pray remember me very particularly to them. If the above account I have given should appear curious to you, you may communicate it to him, but be careful to whom else, as coming from me.

Many thanks for the printed papers you sent. That on wool I had two years ago; but pray continue to send and collect for me. Sir Joseph Banks and I are busy on the wool subject. I must see the paper you sent him. We have frequent communications.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Morton Eden.

Séve, May 10th, 1787.

My dear Morton,—Though we have found good health at Séve, we continue under an incessant course of wet and windy weather. I suppose that the Polignacs will have arrived at Bath before you receive this. I shall be glad to hear from you how they appear to amuse themselves at Bath. Mdme. de Polignac has long filled a principal space in this country, and her absence makes a considerable void. Though the parting was apparently amicable, it is supposed by many not to be temporary, but permanent; and that she will never return to the same distinguished situation. I think it possible that some distaste had taken place either on the one side or on both, but it is uncertain; and at all events the force of habitude may bring her back with more influence than ever. Both the Duke and the Duchess always used their faculties meekly, and were, consequently, subject to fewer enmities than generally accompany such situations.

The ports open to-day on both sides pursuant to the Treaty, and, from the complication of the business and interests, innumerable complaints will arise, and innumerable explanations will be required. It is

extremely disagreeable to me to continue the instrument of these irksome and fretful discussions after having completely done all that my commission required or me; but I have not been able yet to obtain my liberty, though I have long and earnestly urged it.

Yours affectionately,

WM. EDEN.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, May 11th, 1787.

Dear Eden,—Will you be so good as to send the enclosed letter to whatever part of France the Bishop of Agde is to be found in. There are, likewise, the Euripides, Theocritus, and Cicero printed at Oxford, which are sent to you, and which it is hoped you will be so good as to forward to this bishop. These books are a present to him from Lord North, who has commissioned me to write a letter and convey the books. Belin, the bookseller, will give you notice of their arrival, and will undertake to do whatever you desire. I beg pardon for giving you this trouble, but, as it is for Lord North, it is hoped you will excuse me. I return you a great many thanks for your two last letters. As everything is French now, we are inquisitive about what passes on the other side of the water. All the Polignacs are arrived, and are much as you can suppose them to be. They came to London on Sunday, and of course went to Adhemar's assembly, where all London went to see them. On Monday they went to see Mrs. Siddons, and then slept at Lord Beauchamp's. On Tuesday, they went to the opera, Madame de Polignac in the Duchess of Devonshire's box, Madame de Vaudreuil in Lady Sefton's, Madame de Guiche in Lady Pembroke's, Mdlle. la Comtesse in somebody's box that I did not know, and afterwards to a ball and supper at the Duchess of Devonshire's. On Wednesday they dined

at the Duke of Manchester's. To-morrow they go to Bath. On Wednesday morning, too, they breakfasted at Carlton House. I suppose they contemplated the unfinished works of His Royal Highness. The house is not, however, in a more unfinished state than his negotiation. This last week everything has been settled, and is now again unsettled. Last Friday Alderman Newnham did not make his motion, it being unnecessary, and now, as it is said, it is to be made next Monday. It is generally supposed that the Prince of Wales has gathered strength by the delay. He had a great meeting at Carlton House; a very fine show of members, and his side of the question, which was at first only sanguine enough to imagine that he would have a good handsome minority, now thinks he will have a decided majority.

Lord Gower is to come in for Staffordshire without any opposition. Lord Bolingbroke*, for his own and likewise the happiness of his family, is dead. John St. John has written a pamphlet about the crown lands; it costs half a guinea, which will be an objection to my buying it. I had rather have a proof print than essays on forests and chaces. You will wonder when I tell you that I shall even be able to apply Mr. Twining's advertisement to some use; a collector has various ways of making curiosities; it is true, that many things are curiosities to him, which are not so to the rest of the world; but you will see some day or other a tea advertisement in Strutt's dictionary of engravers. The impeachment against Mr. Hastings was lodged in the House of Lords yesterday. Poor Laborde; I am exceedingly sorry for him. Be so good as to write a line about Cherbourg. We are all agog here to know if the works are relinquished; the report here is

"pendent opera interrupta, minæque
Murorum ingentes." †

* Frederick, second Viscount Bolingbroke. The Hon. John St. John was his brother.

† Æneid, lib. iv. l. 88.

Fawkener does not talk of going to Florence till August. He looks very well; full as well, I think, as when he was married. Mrs. Eden will be sorry to hear this. I hope all your children are well. Give my best compliments, and

Believe me most sincerely yours,

A. STORER.

CHAP. XIII.

Mrs. Fitzherbert and Mr. Fox.—Bon Mot of George Selwyn.—The Poligñacs at St. Paul's and Stowe.—Mr. Wedgwood's Letter.—The Duke of Dorset and his Secretary.—The Duke of York.—Lord Sheffield and Gibbon.—The King and Lord Lansdowne.—Lord Loughborough's opinions with respect to France.—Calonne at Bushey.—Lord George Gordon becomes a Jew.—Trial of Sir Elijah Impey.—Curious statement of the Solicitor-General.—Great Boxing-match.

The Archbishop of Canterbury to Mr. Eden.

THE message relative to the Prince of Wales, which the papers will detail to you, was received in both Houses yesterday without a word said upon it. In ours, as far as I could observe countenances, it seemed to be thought a necessary measure. Mrs. Fitzherbert's connections are abusing Fox, I hear, loudly, for having said more in the Commons than he had authority for, and commending Sheridan for the handsome things he said. This is to me very odd, as indeed I thought the panegyric when it was uttered by Sheridan; for he had certainly preceded it in the same language with Fox. She is more received than she was, I think, and stands more forwards. George Selwyn's application of Othello's speech I believe I mentioned to you before.*

It was a melancholy sight yesterday to see Hastings at the bar.† I could not help feeling it, considering the stations he has stood in, though I know him only

* The Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert were living as man and wife. The Prince persuaded Mr. Fox to deny their marriage in the House of Commons. George Selwyn said that the Prince's request to Mr. Fox was conveyed in the language of Othello—"Villain, be sure you prove my love a —— !"—*Auckland MSS.*

† Mr. Hastings was called to the bar of the House of Lords on the 11th of May.

as a public man; in which character, I believe, with many parts to admire, there are many to disapprove in him. The general appearance in a very full house was that of men very indifferent and unconcerned about what was going on. The talk of the world of late does not seem to forebode anything very alarming to him. His appearance was proper,—neither daunted nor insolent. I don't imagine much, if anything, likely to be said on the Prince's business to-morrow beyond the necessary statement. Both parties feel the ground tender. A shot or two may come from such a quarter as Rolle, but even that I doubt. When I make a conjecture, it must often amuse you to see how improvident it turns out. After all our impatience to see you here, perhaps your quitting France in the infancy of the execution of your Treaty might have been matter of concern to you, when probably you would have found a hundred things going wrong in it for want of your presence there.

The Polignacs saw a great deal in London in a short time. They were at St. Paul's to attend the choir music the day of the meeting of the charity for the Sons of the Clergy, on which occasion the ecclesiastics of all degrees meet the Lord Mayor and aldermen there. They dined at the London Tavern, I understand, a galanterie of Lord Nugent's. They desired to have no foreigners there, nor young English travellers. It was proposed by d'Adhemar to ask the Archbishop of Canterbury (probably a joke), but the decorous Nugent pronounced it indecorous. Their reception at Stowe was magnificent. They found rooms well aired and splendidly illuminated, good cooks, great plenty, and numerous attendants; in short, they found everything there but the master of the castle, which you will allow was well understood and *comme il faut.*

My love to Mrs. Eden and your infantry. Ours are all well.

Ever affectionately yours,

J. CANTUAR.

P.S.—Ford has been here, and thinks very favourably of Catherine; that her fever will go off immediately.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Bedford Square, 21st May, 1787.

Dear Eden,—I am very sensible of your kind anxiety about me, though it is mixed with a little sharpness at my silence. You know how idle a correspondent I am in general, and the uniformity of my life has much increased my old bad habits. I have not stayed one day in town that was not employed in the business of my court. I have not been in a public place this season, nor given a dinner, and I have excused myself from most of those that were given. In addition to these changes I had become a very eager sportsman, and by all these means I have got exceeding good health, which has borne me through my accident without the least cross turn, and I am now upon my legs again with tolerable ease, instead of being fixed to my chair for six weeks, which was the shortest period the surgeons had fixed for my walking again.

You have been in so complete a bustle for some time that it makes one almost giddy to read of it in the foreign papers. The changes of scene have been shifted so suddenly on the stage where you are that the eye can hardly follow them, and the first article of open importation seems to have been our politics. It remains to be seen whether France has taken them all off our hands and robbed us of the manufacture.

I have heard sometimes, and always with great satisfaction, of Mrs. Eden and you, from a correspondent of Lady Loughborough's, but I have been so little abroad that I have not met one person of the numbers arriving from Paris, not even Storer, who has likewise to accuse my negligence in writing.

Give my best love to Mrs. E. and all her charge, and believe me,

My dear Eden, yours very truly,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

The following letter is from General Cuninghame, an officer of the Royal Household:—

General Cuninghame to Mr. Eden.

St. James's Place, 25th May, 1787.

My dear Sir,—Yesterday the business of the Prince of Wales occasioned no remarks whatever, although it was expected that Mr. Rolle and others were likely to produce curious conversation, the expectation of which thronged the drawing-room with members of Parliament.

On Wednesday Sir Sampson Gideon* gave the most magnificent ball and supper I have seen in this country. 400 persons were present, and I guess at least 300 sat down to supper, well accommodated, and a variety of excellent wines in profusion. The Prince sat at table with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and all her particular friends near him; his attention to her has been more marked lately than usual. The Duchess of Cumberland sat at another table, and sent for Mr. Dundas to sit next to her.

Mr. Pitt has conducted this negotiation with ability, and to the satisfaction of the Prince, it has, therefore, in my opinion, been a fortunate event for him. A Minister, at his time of life, to be on bad terms with the heir-apparent, was awkward. I am told the Prince is resolved never again to quarrel with his father. Yesterday the drawing-room was fine and crowded as a birth-day. The Prince's household all kissed hands. I believe no alterations have been made, unless Hotham's. The Queen and Princesses seemed delighted, and the King very cheerful.

I hear, from tolerable authority, that there is the strongest disposition in Downing Street to do what may be agreeable to you. You know the Duke of Rutland directed his friends in Parliament to support

* Created in 1789 an Irish peer, with the title of Lord Eardley.

the Prince, and also Lord Lonsdale; but of these circumstances you will have better information than I can give you.

I have just now parted with the Duke of Marlborough, who seems perfectly well, excepting the complaint in his eyes.

You may well believe who know my late situation, that I must be very happy at getting the 45th Regiment on the English establishment, and now at Granada. My brother* is no less so at getting Sir Joseph York's Dragoons. Some time next month I propose paying a visit to him.

The report of the Post Office is to be made on Monday next; but I am told it will end in no bad consequences to Lord Carteret† or A. B. Travers.

Hatsell told me the House of Commons will finish their business on Wednesday next.

I have the honour to be, my dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

JAMES CUNINGHAME.

P.S.—I met Charles Fox going to Court on Thursday when the drawing-room was almost over. I have just finished a letter to the Duke of Dorset. I hope to see his Grace here before I set out for Ireland.

Mr. Wedgwood to Mr. Eden.

Etruria, June 16, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I have deferred writing to you for a month or two past, in consequence of the reports in the newspapers that you were expected weekly in London. I have at length desired Mr. Byerley to make inquiry, and though some of the papers still fix your return to the latter end of the present week, the last day of which is now closing, I find from him that I must not expect the pleasure of waiting upon you

* General Robert Cuninghame created in 1796 Earl of Rossmore.

† Lord Carteret was joint Postmaster-General. A committee had been appointed to investigate the affairs of the Post Office.

for some weeks to come,—for I intend to do myself that honour on your return to England.

I hope you will be permitted to enjoy a summer's repose before you embark in the fatigues and embarrassments of such another business as that which you have now so happily concluded. But I find your labours will again be called forth in the same way, and I congratulate my country on its having the very important object of a treaty of commerce with Spain committed to one who has so recently given universal conviction of his abilities and unwearied assiduity in promoting the commercial interests of his country.

A merchant from Bordeaux called upon me a few days ago, and told me that the people in Manchester, which place he had left the day before, are a little disconcerted at finding their goods are to pay duty on importation into France, not *ad valorem*, but by weight, and I am directed by a person in London, who has bought some goods of me for the French market, to weigh the packages very accurately, that he may the easier ascertain the net weight of the goods. I have sent many packages to Paris and Bordeaux without this precaution, and hope there will be no occasion for it.

I have made an engagement with M. Daguerre and Mr. Sykes at Paris, and mean to serve only those two in that place. Both these engagements are only for one year. I take a share of the risk along with M. Daguerre, and have sent a considerable assortment to Rouen, which I hope will be with him in a little time. I have likewise made an exclusive agreement with Mr. Sykes for the city of Bordeaux, to which place also I have sent a cargo of goods. I have refused many other correspondents, and am afraid I shall not be able to supply these two sufficiently in addition to my old friends.

I have modelled two bas-reliefs, representing the commercial treaty with France. One of them consists of three figures, Mercury as the god of commerce, uniting the hands of England and France. On the

other bas-relief is represented the temple of Janus shut, and the door bolted by two caducei; Mars in a violent rage is going to burst the door open with his spear, but Peace arrests his arm and says, or seems to say, that the door so bolted is not to be broke open. I hope you will have received the first pair I made, which I sent by the diligence for expedition, desiring M. Daguerre to deliver them to you. When his cargo arrives, if you see anything you should like to present to your friends, you know I shall esteem myself honoured by your acceptance of them.

The Chamber of Manufacturers sleepeth for the present, but may be awaked at any time when its services are called for. My late antagonist, Mr. Walker, has quite lost himself at Manchester, and I may add through the whole island. I am highly flattered by your approbation of my last answer to him, which in my own opinion was the wisest and the best because it was the shortest I had made. I am told that my conduct has been much approved, at Manchester in particular. I rejoice to find that all croaking against the treaty is at an end everywhere, except now and then a silly paragraph in some of the opposition papers.

I hope your young family has got safe through the whooping-cough, that Mrs. Eden's health has not suffered by the anxiety she must have been under, and that your own is perfectly re-established.

I will not trouble you any farther now, only to beg your excuse for so long an epistle, and that you will believe me, with the highest esteem and gratitude,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient humble servant,

Jos. Wedgwood.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, June 22nd, 1787.

Dear Eden,—I wrote to you last Tuesday, and sent my letter down to the office, meaning that it should take its chance of an extraordinary courier to be sent to you. But as, perhaps, I have not sufficiently expressed my gratitude to you for your friendly application in my favour, I cannot help still dwelling on the same subject, and, begging you to accept every acknowledgment that it is in my power to make you. Your appointment to the embassy will become now a matter of more notoriety since Lord Walsingham has kissed hands for the postmastership. Till this event took place, he never would confess that he had relinquished all thought of his journey to Spain. However improbable it may seem, I do not think it at all impossible but what I may pay you a visit in that country. I do not hear whether Lord Frederick Campbell* has kissed hands, but it is generally concluded, and it has been so for some time past that he is to be vice-treasurer of Ireland. To-day a curious event happened in the City. There appeared a *forged Gazette* extraordinary, giving an account of the march of the French troops into the Low Countries; it was soon detected; but it was most probably intended to influence the stocks. Whether the belief of its being authentic continued long enough to have that effect I don't know, but the contrivance was ingenious. The stamp, and the house of the printer, as well as the style of the author, I suppose, were all happily counterfeited. There has been a great cricket match, in which Sir Peter Burrell does not as yet make any considerable figure. Most people are leaving town, as you may imagine. Lord North is going to Tunbridge; but alas! I am afraid, with no prospect

* Lord Frederick was the third son of John fourth Duke of Argyll, who married the beautiful Mary Bellenden, maid of honour to Queen Caroline.

of ever recovering his eyesight. I hear of a commercial treaty going on with the Pope; but this is a great secret, and you must not say a word of my knowing it; perhaps, in fact, there is no such thing, but as I am informed of it as a secret, and as a thing that really exists, I must not be supposed to have revealed so important a matter. What do you think of sending me as Minister Plenipotentiary to his Holiness? The gravity of my character will suit with such a mission perfectly well. I beg you will not consider it as a joke, but think of it seriously as a means of providing for me, and at the same time of procuring me the opportunity of seeing that celebrated capital.

Once more let me thank you for this act of friendship which you have shown me.

Give my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and believe me, with the greatest truth and sincerity,

Yours, &c.

A. STORER.

The Duke of Dorset to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Paris, July 12th, 1787.

Dear Eden,—As I know your activity in interesting matters, I feel sure of hearing from Mr. Pitt in a very few days. You know what my wishes are, as well as those of my friends here *, and we none of us shall be thoroughly satisfied till they are accomplished. The Dutch are driving Montmorin very hard, but nothing will be done for them till the mediation of England is determined upon. Hailes has brought me another *sketch* of his ideas for Lord Carmarthen, which he said he would not send without my approbation. He sticks to me very close, as the only twig remaining for him to hold by, and however little his

* Mr. Eden was endeavouring to procure the Garter for the Duke of Dorset. Marie Antoinette was very anxious that the Duke should have it.

conduct to me is worthy of praise, I should be sorry to have him oppressed, as he has nothing to depend on but his present situation. Your children are all well at Séve. Storer called there yesterday evening. The Queen and the Polignacs go to Trianon the 25th of this month. We have not a great many English here at present. The Montmorins dine with me next Tuesday. The Baron de Breteuil has got a severe fit of the gout. The King is confoundedly out of humour with his Parliament. I have no other news but what I have written to Lord Carmarthen. I have received three or four complaints from English merchants from Dunkirk and Rouen. Pray get Crawford sent as soon as possible.

I beg my compliments to Mrs. Eden.

I am, most truly and sincerely yours,

DORSET.

Mr. Hugh Elliot to Mr. Eden.

Copenhagen, 16th July, 1787.

My dear Eden,—I am much obliged to you for two successive short letters from Paris, and I consider Catherine's enclosure as a full confirmation of the prevalent report that you have already accepted the Spanish Embassy. May you meet with as great success in that undertaking as you have done in your first diplomatic achievement.

It would ill become me to add either my approbation or dislike to a measure with the nature of which I am not competently informed, but I have sufficient faith in your judgment, both as public man and private individual, to allow myself to doubt of the propriety of the motives which have determined you to cross the Pyrenees with your numerous family. Convinced that you have rendered a reciprocal service to Great Britain and France, that you have prepared the happiness and prosperity of future generations in those two rival nations, that you have raised the only possible barrier against war and all its miseries, I

dare not regret that you risk much personal comfort in applying once more those talents with which you are so peculiarly gifted to give still greater efficacy to that system by extending its effects to the next powerful branch of the House of Bourbon. I trust our foreign transactions are consistent, and that we do not thwart our own negotiations in one quarter by a line of conduct diametrically opposite in another, though I confess I cannot entirely dismiss suspicions of the bad effects which may ensue from the unquiet and restless bustle of Harris, if he really possesses a degree of influence equal to what is supposed. It is the universal belief of the ignorant, of whom I am one, that our conduct in Holland is direct and avowed opposition to the House of Bourbon, whilst it appears probable to many that our aim in that quarter might be obtained by a less violent display of the old system of jealousy, and by an amicable and frank negotiation with those you are leaving. But all this you must know better than anybody, and therefore I persuade myself that your acceptance of the Spanish mission is a sure prognostic of the probability that public tranquillity will not be disturbed. Once more then I assure you that not only my warmest wishes for your success will accompany you to Madrid, but that I thoroughly approve of this arduous and distant employment of your natural abilities and acquired talents. May my dear Eleanor and her children carry health, happiness, and every blessing along with them.

H. Elliot.

The Archbishop of Canterbury to Mr. Eden.

Beckenham*, Aug. 15th, 1787.

Having at last finished the business I was engaged in for N. Scotia, we have turned our backs upon the great city, and enjoy the repose, the sweetness, the verdure, and all the comforts of Beckenham most

* The Archbishop was residing in Mr. Eden's house.

exceedingly,—except George and Charles, the first of whom is now with Mr. Griffith at his living near Brighthelmstone, the other with Morton at Broadstairs. We are all here, with the addition of Duley. Charles is said to have spoken well.* It was part of one of Tully's orations against Antony. I have heard much praise from the King, and a fair portion from others. The person I can most rely on for his judgment and accurate account, says that he began much embarrassed, but recovered himself completely after about ten lines, that he spoke very sensibly, and that his voice is distinct, strong, and harmonious. He spoke much like a gentleman, says the *gentlemanlike* Dr. Davies. Our weather is pleasant, but not hot. The Duke of Dorset was not arrived when I left London; and as, when he does come, he will not stay in London, my only chance of meeting him is at court. On that occasion I shall be as civil as I can. You are very kind to write, for we certainly have great pleasure in every line from you or from Mrs. Eden; but don't think me unreasonable on that point, for with your engagements it is a most unfair thing to expect frequent letters from you, and I really do not. When you went away I thought your errand extremely embarrassing and critical on many accounts.

A visit from Rose on the Nova Scotia business on Monday last, suggested to me that, without seeming too curious to know how you went on, I might pick up something from him. He saved me all trouble on the subject by starting it himself. "Mr. Eden is going on wonderfully well—a most efficient and pleasant man in business, etc. etc.; everybody is satisfied and more than satisfied." The Duke of York does not come up to the expectations I had formed in his personal appearance. It is like that of any other young officer you meet, neither *l'air noble* nor *militaire*. He stoops much, which I never saw in a

* At Eton.

German officer before, and therefore I wonder, because he has been living with German officers. It is a misfortune that he has had no superior to look up to. You will see by the papers that his establishment is settled; of course one supposes him to stay a good deal in England. He seems to be very shy and diffident. I hear nothing said decidedly of a royal visit to Blenheim. The idea seems to have arisen from its having been said last year that the King and Queen meant to repeat their visit, joined to the circumstance of a good deal lately done, and a sort of gala barge having been lately built there.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Sheffield Place, August 22nd, 1787.

"And so it is that some people serve their country." Yes; and without certain statements the country would not have been convinced on a certain question; but *le grand milord Sheffieldt* likes very much to know what is said of his opinions in foreign parts, and is very thankful for the communication.

I immediately enclosed the paper on dyeing, &c., with patterns, to Sir Joseph Banks. He is both attentive and intelligent on such subjects. I have not yet his answer.

The assertion of the Parliament of Paris that the Commercial Treaty is a bad thing for France may be true in many points, although the *true friends* of this country have shown that it will be pernicious to this country. Lest you should forget that you are mortal, it is proper to assure you that the export to France is not considerably increased. I went to London for a few days to conduct the Gibbon to this place. I saw but few people there; but some, and those not inconsiderable, supposed you had not the least intention of ever going to Spain. It was too sublime for me. The Gibbon is settled here till winter; he will reside with us in Downing Street in winter and spring. The three quartos will appear in

the spring, but as to remaining in this country, he has not the slightest notion of it. He wrote a note to Cadell, saying he hoped he would think the three younger of equal merit with the elder brothers, and equally valuable, and thus the bargain was immediately concluded. He laments very much that he did not arrive before your visit to this place. I have not yet succeeded in infusing a proper political zeal into him.

My lady had great satisfaction in Mrs. Eden's very obliging recollection and attention to her. The bonnet is in great repute.

Lord North has not been so well as he was when I saw him; he is better, and the Gibbon and I intend to see him soon.

Just as I was concluding, your interesting fragment on the banishment of the Parliament* arrived. The Gibbon and I received it very greedily, graciously, and gratefully; at least I did; and it immediately furnished us with a good subject. Considering the disposition towards *liberality* and bustle on the Continent, it is not clear that the constitution of France will remain exactly what it has been. I shall impatiently send to my acquaintance, Mr. Sneyd, for the Boston wool, on the 27th, on the day you mention. I am well pleased to hear of the letter from the Emperor† to the Stadtholder. I expect Lord Loughborough here.

Yours ever,
SHEFFIELD.

General Cuninghame to Mr. Eden.

St. James's Place, August 28th, 1787.

My dear Sir,—I congratulate you most sincerely upon your appointment to your embassy‡, which gives general satisfaction.

I am extremely obliged to you for your letter of the

* The Parliament of Paris had been banished to Troyes by Louis XVI.
† The Emperor Joseph. ‡ The Spanish Embassy.

25th instant, with the *procès verbal.* The lace I shall convey to Mrs. Cuninghame as you have directed; and Lord Grantham's late servants shall be sent to, as you desire. Our eternal court-martial is likely to continue long, and takes up all my spare time. My brother says Orde is on his way to England; if he does not recover he thinks the Duke of Rutland will not remain in Ireland. General Pitt and the Secretary are on the worst terms, and both cannot continue in Ireland. Their quarrel impedes the public business.

I saw the Duke of Dorset often when he was in town. His Grace seems perfectly satisfied with your good disposition towards him. I presume upon this combustion in France he will return from Canterbury races. I wish you would let me know if he is to return to France soon, or if there is likely to be a necessity for it. Some say the Lady and he are likely to part, and that Lord Pembroke has got possession, but of this I know only from report. On Saturday last they began buying at 74¼, and in an hour's time the stocks fell 2 per cent., upon the idea of the Emperor's joining France, and that the affairs of Holland had taken a very hostile turn. Yesterday the stocks did not vary, but the public became more apprehensive of war than ever. My friend Lord Lansdowne makes his appearance frequently in town; some say he was with the King, and that from that time Mr. Pitt* took up the Stadtholder's cause with much spirit and energy, which sent the Marquis back to the country, disclaiming connection with Ministers. I shall be curious to know when you are likely to get forward to Spain. Beresford is returned to Ireland. The Duke of Rutland is galloping about the country, and the Duchess has resumed all her beauty in London. The Duke of York quite military, and is liked. He appears every day on the parade. Make

* Mr. Pitt at first was disinclined to risk a war on account of Holland.

my best respects acceptable to Mrs. Eden, wishing you all possible success and happiness.

I am, my dear Sir,
Yours most sincerely,
JAS. CUNINGHAME.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, Sept. 9th, 1787.

Dear Eden,—I arrived last night in town from Tunbridge Wells, where I have been for the second time since you left England.

As you observe, our country is perfectly quiet at present. There is no agitation but what France communicates. If we have any motion, it is *par bricole.*

Your friends Lord Sheffield and Gibbon were at Tunbridge on Wednesday, and dined at Lord North's.

Sir Robert Herries* brought us the news in his way from Paris of the advancement of the Archbishop de Toulouse, and the resignation of M. Castries and M. de Ségur. As one devoted to the loyal party, you may fancy this a *feu de paille;* but as an Englishman who loves a little mischief in France, and as one, too, who likes a splendid spectacle, I wish that this flame, which the Parliament have kindled, may prove a more durable one. His Most Christian Majesty seems perfectly in the right to have chosen a Governor. His dismission of Calonne has fully convinced me that he stands in need of one. Calonne lives in Panton's old house in Piccadilly. He expects his two nieces, as it is said, shortly in England.

Lord Beauchamp went abroad about ten days ago, and he was advised by M. de Rochambeau to go through Holland in his way to Spa.

Old Cumberland†, who came to Tunbridge last Wednesday, and was of the party who dined at Lord North's, told us that in London people supposed

* The banker.
† Richard Cumberland, the dramatist.

there would be no war. I give you his report, for I arrived in town late last night, and as yet, have not been out of my house—nay, not even out of my bed, having had the whole morning a violent headache.

Gibbon has finished his history; he has brought it down to the taking of Constantinople, and now he says that he shall lay down his pen, having blotted paper enough.

The man's name to whom the Bishop of Agde's books were sent, is Belin; he lives upon the Quay, with the other booksellers, and very near the *Pont au Change.*

Give my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and, hoping that all your children are well, I remain,

Yours most sincerely,

A. STORER.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Woburn Farm, Sept. 12th, 1787.

Dear Eden,—I remained in Yorkshire much longer than I had proposed, and had no letters sent down to me, so that I only read yours on my return to this place the night before last.

The letter I wrote to you on the circuit has never been out of my portfolio, for your departure (of which I had an account at Windelstone) had put it out of all date, the chief part of it being an argument against your returning so soon to the continent. I thought it would be of consequence to you to see a little more of the state of things at home than you would know by distant communications. Your letter is an answer to the other part of my intended letter, which was a reasoning against your crossing the Pyrenees. That seems to be understood as a condition annexed to the letter written to you the morning before you set out.

I read with great eagerness the French news in the "Leyden Gazette," and am much entertained to find that the commotions France has been raising in other countries are come home to her own bosom. The

Parliament is in the right, and I take the principle it has asserted to be true in the history of Imperial French monarchy, though the usage of many reigns is against it. The public creditors would be gainers by the establishment of the power of the States-General to grant; for then it would follow that they could appropriate, and could also limit the expenses of the King. The principle, however, is new in practice, and the direct avowal that, by the constitution of France, no taxes can be imposed without the consent of the States, is not to be found (I believe) in any public act for the two last centuries. It will not be easy to efface that declaration; and I should not think, with the courtiers, that a fire kindled with such materials will prove a *feu de paille*. The change of the ministry is not likely to help to smother it. I should be much obliged to you for any of the papers in this contest that fall in your way.

My servant tells me that the wine cooper says the claret you were so good as to let me have, is the highest flavoured of any he has tasted, but recommends it to be kept some time. If you should chance to meet at Bordeaux (in case you go there) with wine that has been long bottled, I should be very glad to share a little of it. The money shall be paid to Drummond's immediately.

My best love to Mrs. Eden and all the nursery.

Believe me, my dear Eden,

Yours very affectionately,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

The Archbishop of Canterbury to Mr. Eden.

Lambeth House, Sept. 21st, 1787.

The wetness of the weather brought us to town yesterday, after having enjoyed the quiet and comfort of Beckenham five weeks. Perhaps I was the more decided to come by the present critical state of things, which it was impossible not to feel interested in to a degree that would not allow one to be quite easy at a

distance. You know so much better than I do what is going on here, that I will not touch the subject further than to observe, that, from some things I have heard, I suspect Grenville to have imbibed, while in Holland, rather too much of the heat of Sir James's * politics; that his Grace of Richmond still has rather too much ardour for war; and that they being almost the only persons whom Mr. Pitt has to confer with at present, it is but too natural that his mind may take a bias, under such circumstances, of high tone, which to the mind of a young man is always congenial. A vast deal seems to me to depend on your stay in France: perhaps war or no war may depend upon it. All things considered, there are circumstances to make you wish your recall, but I think infinitely more for not wishing it. They must see that you can't proceed after October to Spain; if, therefore, you are so late detained for public considerations, the consequence is plain that you must not go this winter, which, as your mother is not here to hear me, I may venture to say I am ready to vote for, even should it be added, nor the next.

The Chancellor and Lord Stafford seem to take their journey, in obedience to the summons to Cabinet, with a very dignified deliberation. They are not come yet, for which I should feel very indignant if I felt they would have much to say to the purpose when they do come. 'In a moment when so much rests upon the Cabinet, it is a sad thing not to know to whom to look for what is essential to wise discussion and determination in it. One sees in parts of it sufficient obstinacy, and in others perfect indecision. There is, too, an honourable mind, a fine understanding, with a disposition prompt enough to decide, but without experience, or, I fear, accurate knowledge sufficient of the true temper of other countries. After all my fears of war, I am not for buying peace at too high a price neither: to give France possession of Holland

* Sir James Harris.

is not a plan of mine. But to take a step, or let go an unmeasured expression, beyond what is necessary to prevent that, seems full of essential mischief. Adieu.

Yours ever, J. C.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, Oct. 5th, 1787.

Dear Eden,—Out of charity let us on this side the water know a little of what is passing on yours,—I shall hold myself under a great obligation to your Excellency. This is not the first time that you have had a right to that title, therefore there is no charm in it, nor can I flatter myself by using it, that I shall gain much. We ignorant folks out of secrets, as well as out of employment, know not what to conclude by admirals and ambassadors kissing hands at the same time, except it means to say that we are to treat sword in hand. Lord Howe appears in white uniform, and then the Duke of Dorset kisses hands and sets off directly for France; and I hear you are departing immediately for Spain. Wherever you go I wish you well; but not to lose sight of countercharges, Barthelemi, too, delivers, or is rather to deliver, his credentials to-day; and yet we are told that a war is inevitable. I own I was flattering myself that as his Most Christian Majesty was giving way to his Parliament, he might as well do so by us, and give way a little more. The war is very popular—no opposition from any quarter is made to it. The alliance of the Dutch, and the decided superiority Great Britain will derive to herself from it, strikes everybody in its full force. Will not our unanimity, and the dissensions in France, added to the deranged state of their finances, operate at all to make his Eminence of Toulouse give up the Dutch, notwithstanding the representations of the Minister of Foreign affairs. Calonne says the French will not go to war, except Great Britain forces them into one. I am told by *a spy at*

court, that a great personage*, who knows a good deal of modern history, thinks that there will be no war, but all the same it is said he wishes it. The French Minister here, as well as other wise politicians, think, that had it not been for Calonne's publication of the French finances, England would not have taken up this business in so high a tone as she has done. So much for politics.

Pray let me hear from you before you set out for Spain. Give my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and tell her that while I was Tunbridge I flattered myself with being able to give her an account, and an early one, of a match between Mr. Vyner and Lady Theodosia Ashburnham, but, notwithstanding all his flirtation, he went into Lincolnshire without saying a word. If this did not disappoint the lady, at least it did me, and I take it for granted disappoints Mrs. Eden too. Adieu. I am, with the greatest regard,

Yours most sincerely,
A. Storer.

P.S.—When you are Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs I will go to Stockholm.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

2nd Nov., 1787.

My dear Eden,—You are so much in the habit of making fine speeches, that you think it worth while to practise on me, and you venture to state that the respectable point of view in which England stands at this moment has been produced by the energy of our countrymen. God forbid you should have the effrontery to mean Ministers. England has for a long time shamefully neglected foreign countries. The present administration added infinite ignorance to neglect, at least till lately. At present they seem to have some merit, but we think it lucky Billy

* The King.

Grenville did not succeed in bullying France into war. I have stated that this country never was in a more commanding situation than at present, but it is clearly, solely, and entirely imputable to the accidental state of Europe, and not to *our countrymen.*

We have been amused by the double signature to the counter-declaration. I do not understand what you mean by supposing a longing to dispute a few of the Dutch causeways against the Prussians. I have exceedingly rejoiced in the success of the Duke of Brunswick. I have had a letter from Sir H. Clinton. In a postscript, talking of our friend Lord Beauchamp, he said, "C'est le guerrier le plus déterminé." At the affairs of Amteveen, he exposed himself like a boy, and was in high favour with the Duke. You talk of overhauling your French pamphlets, and selecting for me. You never will look into any of them again, therefore it will be shortest to send them all.

As to claret and vin de Grave, if you think you cannot get it better when on the spot, you may as well order it; but I could wait a few weeks for superior quality; and if it will not at most exceed 3*s.* per bottle, it certainly will come much better in bottle. Might it not be consigned to me? Till I go to town, I cannot mention to whom else. My lady is always apprehensive I do not say half enough for her to you and Mrs. Eden.

I am entertained with the reception Calonne meets with in London. Lately he was the most terrible peculator. Gibbon writes that he expected to meet him at dinner at Lord Loughborough's. I have a long letter from Lord North. He is captivated with the *Requête au Roi.** He was to have met us at Bath, but the death of his father I fear will prevent it.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

* M. Calonne's pamphlet.

Mr. Eden to Lord Loughborough.

Séve, near Paris, Nov. 8th, 1787.

My dear Lord,—I received your letter of the 12th September from Woburn Farm, and was much obliged to you for its contents.

It found me occupied by the late bustle, which, at that moment, was at its crisis; and in which, from the Duke of Dorset's happening to have made a few weeks excursion to England, I found myself in circumstances of considerable responsibility. Having, however, taken all my measures for arriving at Madrid upon the 2nd October, I came with great reluctance into the necessity of remaining here from day to day, till at length I was obliged to order back my mules, and to change my other arrangements, and now I must remain here till the beginning of January, for I cannot risk a journey over the Pyrenees in the shortest days, over bad roads, through the December snows, and in execrable weather, with Mrs. Eden and all my children. You seem to have had a foresight of this when you remark "that a thousand accidents may still cross and jostle us as to stop my setting out for a few weeks or months." I regret it sincerely in one respect; for I have all this time a secret uneasiness about the Spanish climate; and wished to have gone in the autumn, so as to have advanced towards the sun by degrees, instead of going as at present in the beginning of the year, when the heat will overtake us. I certainly seek what may give either distinction or the means of an easy existence and the good of my children, but if I should at any time suddenly fail in these points, I am positively certain that the failure would not materially affect the tranquillity of my mind. On the contrary, if I succeed in them you will see that my views are much more moderate than may be supposed, and that it is my system to desist from active life at the period when men in general are

solicitous to push their advantages in the world. In the mean time, I think I see what my advantages are, and without disputing whether they are either accidental or unmerited, or imaginary, I shall urge them properly, according to my conception of them; in doing this I am sorry to begin by an exile to that horrid Siberia to which I am going. I hope, however, that it will not be a long exile. I accepted it from a delicacy respecting others, who do not appear to have felt any delicacies respecting me; but that makes no difference.

I told you that the quarrel between the French Parliament and their Sovereign would probably be a *feu de paille;* and so it proved. I incline, however, to think that the flame will break out again, and more seriously. There is a strong disposition in this country to make changes in the constitution of the Government, to have national associations upon popular principles, to restrain many of the great prerogatives of the Crown, and to separate the public debt from the civil list, &c.; and the extreme embarrassments of the Royal Treasury give a plausibility to these speculations which, in any other period, would have appeared highly chimerical. I do not know to what degree your curiosity goes on these subjects, but the habits of the last twenty months have made every conversation respecting this great country highly interesting to me.

The pamphlets distributed this year by the colporteurs would almost fill a waggon; many of them are very bad, but if those which are the best would interest you, I would try to select them for you. I will enclose in a letter a curious impertinence which happens to be lying on my table. You will hardly think it credible that the first Prince * of the blood could send it to the King, but it is true that he has done so nevertheless.

When you are so good as to write to me, be so

* Monsieur, afterwards Louis XVIII.

good as to send your letters under cover to Mr. Sneyd.

"I meant to have sent you some wine in bottles—Bordeaux; and if you wish to have any before I go, in January or February, let me know, and the quantity. It will be difficult to find any that has been long in bottle, but I can rely on having the best, either claret or vin de Grave. I have good champagne here from the Duke de Polignac's; it cost me three livres here, and ought not to cost above four shillings (at most) upon the table in England, bottles included. I have the best access for red and white Hermitage that is possible; but it should not go in less quantities than about 50 dozens, for it is a long operation to transmit it, and it should also go in the cold months. The vintage of this year is peculiarly bad.

We are in danger of being desperately cold in this large house during the next six weeks, but I doubt whether we shall take the trouble to move into Paris, for we have a considerable society at Versailles, and we are at least three days in every week there, and hitherto people have made no difficulty as to coming to us here, for there is not here the idea of it being possible to be robbed in the darkest night. Mrs. Eden desires her love to you. Your god-daughter Charlotte desires as well as her.

I am, my dear Lord,

Very affectionately yours,

WM. EDEN.

Lord Sheffield to Mr. Eden.

Sheffield Place, Nov. 28th, 1787.

Many thanks for your fragment relative to the Parliament of Paris and the exile of the Duke of Orleans; it arrived just as the family was in want of such food, —wonderful to be said, not a stranger left in it. The Gibbon had gone to London a few days before; F. Pelham and Gerard Hamilton had severally departed in

in the course of the day to attend their duty next day in Parliament. I was to have gone to London this day to attend the Gibbon to Bath on Saturday, but I have just received intelligence that the gout has seized him, therefore I shall not go from hence till he gives notice that he is able to travel. We do not intend to stay above a fortnight at Bath. The family intends to settle in London about the 20th Jan., and thus you have the state of the family (which is in good health), and the time of its establishment in London as you desired. The Duchess of Gordon has made the most desperate attempt to remain in Downing Street; but I have been inexorable, not on my account, but on account of the ladies, and also of the Gibbon, who is to reside with us. The said Duchess has contrived to return to Downing Street, although her Duke has but a very short time longer to stay.

You say in your letter received a few days before the fragment, that you will not venture to pass the Pyrenees till the beginning of January and after the December snows. According to common notions there will be full as much snow on the mountains in January and February as in any months; but I am glad you are delayed, and have some hopes that you will revisit this island before you reach Madrid.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, Nov. 29, 1787.

Dear Eden,—May I take the liberty of begging you to send the enclosed to Sainte Foy. I took it for granted that you had dropped me as a correspondent, and I had resigned myself to my lot. In truth, I should have been an insipid correspondent, for everything here is most perfectly calm. The hurly-burly in Holland, and the overflowing of the French cauldron, are what interest us. Amongst ourselves everything is as prosperous as Mr. Pitt could wish it. Calonne dined at Bushey about ten days ago, and Keene, who invited himself there on the same day,

asked him so many questions, that Calonne, who thought Keene must have some reasons for putting so many interrogatories to him, asked John St. John "*si ce Monsieur était dans la finance?*" Among the other questions which Francis North* supposes that Keene put was, "*combien d'argent avez-vous dans votre poche?*"

You will see in the papers that Lord Guilford† is dead, but there is not a word of truth in the report. Our friend the Abbé Sabbatier‡, I perceive, has got himself into limbo. How can the French possibly go on with a requisition of a loan for five years to come. They are now paying for the American war, which Necker told Gibbon had cost them seventy-one millions sterling; that sum and the interest will almost make out the deficit, and justify Calonne. Who would have prophesied a year ago that I should have dined this year with Calonne at Bushey? Next year perhaps we may have His Most Christian Majesty. Give me leave to ask you if I may flatter myself with seeing soon my box of prints.

Give my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and with hearty good wishes for you and yours,

I remain, most sincerely,

A. STORER.

P.S.—You know of course that Fitzherbert§ goes to Ireland. How will his peevishness and his bad health do either in the House of Commons or with the bottle round the brown table?

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, Dec. 7, 1787.

Dear Eden,—I thank you very much for your letter, and particularly for the epigram, which is un-

* Francis North was the second son of Lord North.

† Lord North's father.

‡ The Abbé Sabbatier was imprisoned for advocating the Convocation of the États-Généraux.

§ Mr. Fitzherbert, afterwards Lord St. Helens, went as chief secretary.

doubtedly very severe against so amiable a woman, and one who deserves a *méchanceté* so little, as the Swedish Ambassadress.* There is no reason why you should be sorry for having been obliged to stay at Paris—sure Madrid can be no pleasant place, and you need not complain of paying for a house there, when you have not been obliged to inhabit it; the latter of these two ills would seem to me the worse. When you say that the French ministry have got the loan, do you mean the loan for this year or the 450 *millions progressif et successif;* if it be only the loan for this year, the same difficulty must return again the next, and supposing the whole of your loan obtained, how is it to be funded? We are so dull here that we do not comprehend how people can be prevailed upon to part with their money without some security for repayment. Mr. Pitt's bill for the armament is inconceivably small. I saw myself a prodigious fine fleet at Spithead, and I cannot comprehend even how that fleet, independent of all the other expenses incurred in our preparations, could cost so little as what is now demanded. Fitzherbert's going to Ireland leaves Russia open, which it is said is to be filled up by Liston. I have heard that Lord Dalrymple does not return to Berlin, and Stockholm is not as yet filled up. Recollecting a conversation which I had with Hugh Elliott, I cannot help sometimes flattering myself that I might have a chance of being again in the *corps diplomatique.* You mentioned my name last summer, and perhaps you might be able to tell me whether if upon yourself asking a question on this head I might flatter myself with anything like a probability of succeeding. I own the burden of having nothing to do is very insupportable to me. I tell you this very frankly, not doubting that if it should be in your power to promote such a project of mine, you will do everything you can.

Madame de Staël.

This year, I am afraid, it will not be in my power to take up my abode at No. 15 Rue de Caumartin.

"Si res ampla domi, similisque affectibus esset,"*

I should set out directly: but two successive years at Paris would involve my finances in as many difficulties as the French themselves are in. The Opera begins to-morrow, and Cumberland and Gloucester Houses are open—the first on Thursdays and the latter on Wednesdays, so that now the world is launched, and all London begins to be afloat.

Various theatrical performances are to be exhibited this Christmas. At Blenheim they are to act; at Lord Saye and Sele's, too, they are to perform, and Lady Saye and Sele I hear (but it cannot be that old lady that danced at all balls) is to act the principal part. The Duke of Richmond is to open, too, his theatre again. Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey are to be worried, but I always suppose they are to escape by hook or by crook. There was a report that Parliament was to be dissolved in order to put an end to the proceedings against Hastings; but this cannot be, especially as I understand that the proceedings of Parliament would stand over even a dissolution.

Make my best compliments to Madame *l'Ambassadrice d'Espagne*, and remember me to little William. Adieu. I remain, with the best wishes for you and yours, most sincerely,

A. STORER.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, Dec. 14, 1787.

Dear Eden,—I shall be much obliged to you if you will recommend me to the French Ambassador's protection, as for protecting him, I know myself too well to suppose that I can be a protector. In consequence

* Juvenal, 12 Sat. l. 10.

of what you said about a house proper for his Excellency, I went up to Hyde Park Corner yesterday, to have a conference with Barthelemi, and to know, if what was reported about M. de Luzerne's having taken the Marquis of Buckingham's house was true. There is no foundation for the report; and I understood from Barthelemi that he was of my mind about the propriety of the new Ambassador's continuing in the house of the late one. Barthelemi has already written to M. Luzerne, so that he is as fully informed as he can be upon the chapter of houses. His Excellency must recollect that it is difficult to get such a house as will perfectly suit him in London: it is almost next to an impossibility; as for staying in a lodging in an obscure street till a hotel be built for him, nobody would do this but Adhemar, and you know he established by so doing such a reputation for parsimony and *mesquinerie* that he never could efface it by any subsequent magnificence. Adhemar has his house for upwards of two years more, but he has a right of giving it up almost immediately. The proprietor it seems claims a right of hindering Adhemar from letting it to another tenant, and, therefore, upon his giving it up, he means to increase the rent to M. de Luzerne. As I had heard that Del Campo* had taken a house in St. James' Square, I thought that by way of *pied à terre*, M. de Luzerne might have Del Campo's, but this is not so; Del Campo has taken no house, but remains in Stanhope Street. I called upon him yesterday, and learnt this from himself, so that you see I did not neglect your commission. By the bye, I wish the Spanish Ambassador were fixed in a magnificent mansion, that would be a good pacific symptom. Till you have passed the Pyrenees, and Del Campo be established in a large house, I shall never think the peace sure and permanent. The Marquis of Buckingham has begun his reign by turning out Jephson.† This must give great displeasure to all

* The Spanish Ambassador.

† Jephson the dramatist. He had an Irish appointment.

protectors of dramatic merit. Jephson, too, was very poor and cannot bear so considerable a reduction. Lord George Gordon* is undoubtedly in prison, and has been living in the dress and society of Jews.

Robinson† is at length Surveyor of the Woods; Sir Gilbert Elliott made a most capital speech in opening the charges against Sir Elijah Impey. As Sir Peter Burrell's‡ good luck is never failing, he will get near a thousand pounds by boards and scaffolding at Hastings's trial. Somebody told me yesterday that there was a courier arrived with the news of a treaty being formed between the Empress, the Emperor, and the French: that the two first were to have what they liked best of Turkey, and that the French were to be recompensed with Egypt or the trade of that country. The Speaker of the House made a mistake in inviting his company, which entertained us at Brooke's; he did not know that Lord Westcote§ had written a letter to declare that he should not vote any longer with the opposition, and so invited him to dinner with a dozen of his quondam friends. Welbore Ellis and I heard the scene represented as a very entertaining one. Lady Pembroke, who was on the point of being parted from Lord Pembroke, continues only parted from him as she has been for some time past. As the Bacelli is at Paris, I suppose his Lordship is there too. Keene was overturned the other night with Minchin in a hackney-coach, but unfortunately for Mrs. Keene and his friends he received no hurt. Lord Carmarthen has quite recovered both his health and his good looks. I have forgot all this time to thank you for the story of M. de Waal; pray let me have some more of it. How long will it be

* Lord George was in Newgate, where he died Nov. 1st, 1792. He had been imprisoned on account of a libel on Marie Antoinette.

† "Jack" Robinson.

‡ Sir Peter Burrell acted as Lord Chamberlain, in right of his wife, Lady Willoughby.

§ William Henry Lyttelton, created in 1776 Lord Westcote of Belamore, Ireland, and in 1794, Lord Lyttelton.

before M. de Luzerne comes to London? Give my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and with the best wishes for your prosperity and happiness,

I remain, yours,

A. STORER.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, Dec. 15, 1787.

Dear Eden,—The first thing I must do is to beg your pardon for troubling you with the two enclosed letters, which I shall be much obliged to you if you will send to the places where they are directed; and the next is to thank you for the interest which you are so good as to express upon the subject which I wrote to you about in my last letter. In all cases I shall arm myself with patience, and conclude that everything is for the best. I shall comfort myself with thinking that I *may* have a chance of going to Florence when you are Secretary of State, which I, with a truly prophetic spirit, foresee that you certainly will be. You know, of course, whose interest obtained that appointment for Lord Hervey, and consequently one must not say that women have no influence in England.

We have been alarmed here this last week with a quadruple alliance against Great Britain. The report was that the Emperor, the Empress, Spain and France, had made an alliance which divided, in the first instance, Turkey between the two first powers, but what was to fall to the lot of France and Spain it was difficult to make out. The report does not gain ground, as I perceive, that stocks have risen within these two or three days. Barthelemi called upon me yesterday, and I see almost every day the imperial minister, at some booksellers. Barthelemi is *volto sciolto*, and, I suppose, *pensieri stretti*; so that though his language is perfectly pacific, yet there may be mischief hatching. The other says there is

no such thing concluded. If the Duke of Orleans becomes popular by his present conduct, and acquires character, which was the only earthly possession which he seemed not to abound in, by his opposition to the Court, it does not seem to me that he will purchase it dear by staying the Christmas holidays with his wife and family.

The season of the year, and the recess of Parliament has thinned London very much. We have had here for some time Monsieur and Madame Potocka. I heard that Sir James Harris thought he came over here as a French spy. They were at Amsterdam during the siege, so, together with Calonne's account and theirs, one may form something like an idea of that important transaction. It seems almost a miracle how it was taken. If they had had in the town any man of sense that could have undertaken the command, it would have been next to an impossibility to have entered the town.

Those who are advocates in favour of Sir Elijah Impey mean to argue that the British law took place in India in 1756, and not at the time that he, with the other judges, went out to India; and if they can prove this, they say that Impey has done nothing illegal. The motives for his conduct may make him guilty, but this must be proved, which is, or will be, the difficulty. The Solicitor-General* said, the other day when I saw him, that there had been a man condemned for forging before Impey's time, and what was singular, that the petition which was sent over to this country in favour of the criminal was signed by Nuncomar.† Hastings's trial, it is said, will take up at least between fifty and sixty sitting days. It was a violent thing to have excluded Francis, on account of his enmity to Hastings, from being one of his prosecutors. It would be a bar to his being his judge, but it is, in fact, rather a re-

* Mr. Archibald Macdonald, afterwards Chief Baron.

† Nuncomar was hanged for forgery. Sir Elijah Impey was the judge who tried and condemned him.

commendation for a prosecutor. In all assemblies you have so much royalty now, that there are as many royal princes and princesses as there were at the jeu de la Reine à Fontainebleau. The Duke of Gloucester, the Duchess and Lady Almeria Carpenter, the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert, the Duke of Cumberland and Duchess, the Duke of York, with all the corps which move with these illustrious personages, make almost an assembly large enough to fill a common room in a London house.

I must not forget to tell you that Lord Brudenell and the Duke of Queensberry pass their lives in this set. The Duke of York's amours have been numerous hitherto. I suppose before the winter is past he will have *une habitude.* Do not omit giving my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and believe me,

Yours, most sincerely,

A. STORER.

P.S.—Soame Jenyns is dead.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, January 11th, 1788.

Dear Eden,—I thank you for your diary; mine is full as quiet, though not either so agreeable or so employed, except, indeed, collecting prints be worthy the name of employment *operosi nihil agimus.* I am almost in despair about my French cargo, and must beg you to give me some news of them. Will they go to Spain with you? They will not improve by a circuitous voyage, as Madeira is supposed to do. I have thought that if they cannot come by your means, that they may be sent by M. de Luzerne; he is coming, as I hear from Madame de Roucherolles, in a very short time, and twelve hundred prints, no matter what they are, will furnish me with a great fund of amusement. We are upon the point, too, of having a Dutch Minister; in what capacity he comes

I take for granted, you know better than I do, but the Beauchamps announce him as *un homme très aimable.*

I forget whether I told you in my last letter that Lord Wentworth is going to be married to Lady Ligonier, but if I did, I would rather run the risk of being patched than omit letting Mrs. Eden know of any match that is upon the eve of taking place here: it is not this sort of match that interests us most at present, a boxing-match* is what attracts our attention infinitely more. Indeed I must confess that my imagination was more struck by reading in the newspapers an account of this combat, than it ever was in my youthful days by the description of either the fight between Achilles and Hector, or Æneas and Turnus. This, in truth, however, is the only symptom of youth I have about me, for, to that melancholy truth which you send me, I must subscribe, without doubt we grow old. But you have something to do, and I have to bear *le pénible fardeau de n'avoir rien à faire*—the burden the most insupportable I can conceive. It is allowed on all sides that the Jew was the most skilful and would have beat the Christian, but for some slip that he made, which sprained his ancle. I should not be surprised if we were to grow as eager about these fights as ever the Romans were about the gladiators. Our engravers now are employed upon these subjects as the most interesting to the public.

This battle has stopped the conversation about the Duke of Hamilton and Lady E——. In proportion as Mrs. Eden likes learning of a match she must have pain in hearing of a divorce. They say her Ladyship is in town, nor is there any probability of her being married to the Duke of Hamilton, except the Duchess will sue for a divorce on account of his Grace's infidelity, but it is to be supposed that she will prefer an inconstant duke to the state of a widowed duchess, or, to her former situation of Betsy Burrell.†

* Between Mendoza and Humphries.
† Sister of Sir Peter Burrell.

The Duchess of Manchester* is come to town, having for a day or two totally lost the sight of one of her eyes by a violent inflammation. She is likely to do well, but at first it was what gave me a great alarm.

In your next pray say a word about the prints, they are, you know, the objects of my affection—the only children I have,—it is a numerous family, but you know that numbers do not put an end to paternal fondness.

The West Indians are congratulating themselves that they have only had an earthquake this year, they have had no hurricane and so they are satisfied, considering the moon going backwards and forwards, and the earth moving up and down as nothing at all. Mr. Wilberforce is going to put an end to Slavery; we say and acknowledge Slavery to be an evil, but a necessary one. Great Britain has been ingenious enough to separate herself from half of her colonies already. I wish we may not see the time when more of them may be separated from her. Give my best respects to Mrs. Eden, and hoping that all the *bambini* are well, I remain, with the greatest truth and sincerity,

Yours, &c.

A. STORER.

* Daughter of Sir James Dashwood, of Kirtlington, Oxfordshire, married 23rd October, 1762, to George, fourth Duke of Manchester, who was Ambassador at Paris when Mr. Storer was Secretary of Legation.

CHAP. XIV.

Lord Loughborough's Literary Labours.—M. de Calonne and Hannah More.—Arrival of M. de la Luzerne.—The Duchess of Gloucester and Lady Almeria Carpenter.—Great Season for Marriages.—Lord Carmarthen's Dinner.—Three Runaway Matches.—Trial of Warren Hastings.—Mrs. Sheridan and Mrs. Siddons.—Mr. Fox's Speech.—Mr. Dundas's Extraordinary Statement. — Lady Archer and her Daughters.—Ball at Richmond House.—Perplexity of the French Ambassador.—Mr. Greathed's Tragedy.—Duke of Dorset obtains the Garter.—Popularity of M. de Calonne.

Lord Loughborough to Mr. Eden.

Bedford Square, 17th January, 1788.

Dear Eden,—Upon my return here this evening I found your letter by the new Ambassador, and I shall profit of it to make an acquaintance with him. I have passed a month in the country entirely alone, but very much employed. You cannot imagine how valuable a present you made me in the "Assizes of Jerusalem," which I have studied as diligently as ever I did Littleton. The result of it will make its appearance in print in the course of this year, not by my means, however, but through a much better channel. Gibbon had long been in pursuit of the book for a part of his history, and as the language of it was less obscure to me than to him, I have employed myself in furnishing him with an abstract from it.* My own researches are now swelled to a very considerable bulk, but they have very little

* For the intelligence of this obscure and obsolete jurisprudence I am indebted to the friendship of a learned lord, who, with an accurate and discerning eye, has surveyed the philosophic history of the law. By his studies, posterity might be enriched. The merit of the orator and judge can be felt only by contemporaries. Vol. xi. p. 98, Lord Sheffield's edition of Gibbon's Works.

chance of ever making their appearance abroad, as I never can satisfy myself with any form in which they arrange themselves upon paper.

If I had not been so deeply engaged in the politics of the twelfth century, I should have thanked you sooner for the entertainment I found in the state papers of the present day which you sent me. The two discourses upon public credit are inimitable pieces. If I had money to employ in speculation, I do not think that any interest would tempt me to risk it upon that security, "dont les espérances futures répondent d'avance" as the Abbe Tardeau says, nor should I rely much more upon the three millions of retrenchments which the "Garde de Sceaux" gravely takes credit for, sur l'article des dépenses imprévues. Our news writers say, and I am disposed to give them more credit than usual for this article, that the French loan does not succeed. It would be strange if it did with such recommendations.

M. de Calonne, I am afraid will write no more prose, for I hear he has undertaken to make poetry of Mrs. Hannah More's tragedy of Percy, which seems to be at least as difficult a conversion as that of his own enemy's would have been. Some people here think it rather a frivolous employment for a person in his situation, and it has thrown an air of ridicule upon him which he was not otherwise much exposed to, for he appeared to be an easy, lively man, without any affectation.

As the weather points to a long continuance of frost, I take it for granted you will entertain no thoughts of your journey till the beginning of summer, and your present residence is too agreeable to make you impatient to leave it. My best love to Mrs. Eden and all her nursery.

I am, ever, my dear Eden,

Yours most affectionately,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, January 18, 1788.

Dear Eden,—I received your letter by his Excellency the French Ambassador, whom I called upon, as you may be sure, the same day. I did not find him at home then, but yesterday I did. I remember very well to have seen him at the *salon;* he answers exactly your description; his desire of pleasing will go a great way towards doing so, but his appearance is against him. He seemed rather inclined to live with a smaller society than what Adhemar did. He had imagined that his predecessor was excessively intimate in the Duchess of Devonshire's set, and that he passed his life at Devonshire House. I own I never heard of Adhemar being much with any particular society. At first he lived a good deal with Lady Payne, but latterly he opened his house to all the town, and Mr. Martindale held the bank from e'en till morn. He talked a great deal about your bonté pour lui, et l'aimabilité de Madame Eden, wherein it was no stretch of complaisance in me to agree with him. You may be sure that the generality of people will think it improper to send here a Chevalier, considering a Chevalier upon the same footing as Sir Joseph Mawbey, not knowing that in France any man, *i.e.* gentleman, takes what title he likes best, except that of Duke.

A lady last night told me that it was an affront to our Court to send here a man of no rank, when an English Duke was Ambassador at Versailles. She had forgotten that Adhemar was Ambassador here, both during the embassy of the Duke of Manchester and that of the Duke of Dorset, and surely a vrai De la Luzerne is worth as much as a pinchbeck Adhemar. Of course I told his Excellency that you were laughing at him and at me, in supposing that such an insignificant mortal as myself

could be of any use to him; both you and he were ambassadors and great personages and might command me *tel que j'étais*. Lady Beauchamp* talks the same language about the Ambassador† that is coming from the Hague, so that soon I shall begin to imagine myself deputy-master of the ceremonies to Sir Clement Cotterell.

To-day, as I am banished from Court, or rather have no reason to go there, that we may have something notwithstanding to do with royalty, I am going with a party to Mr. Palmer's Royalty Theatre. We dine at the London Tavern, go afterwards to the play, and then return to supper in Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square, a journey almost equal to yours in Spain. I do not like the thoughts of Mrs. Eden being a greater traveller than myself. I shall be miserable in not seeing Madrid, and shall long to pass the Pyrenees. I comfort myself with the hopes that you will not go there; it will be easy enough to make you a Chevalier and keep you in Paris. I wish that I may be a true fortune teller, and I dare say Mrs. Eden wishes so too. You do not say a word to me about my prints; you may now send them over very easily to the French Ambassador. I only beseech you not to carry them to Spain. Prints are not the better, like Madeira, for going round the world.

After the holidays, when the different private theatres are shut, the town is to be amused with the grand spectacle of Mr. Hastings's trial. This excites our expectation as much as the boxing matches have engaged our attention. There is a very fine engraved portrait just published of your friend John Hunter, the anatomist; it is a good performance, but certainly it is most unconsciously impudent in the artist to demand two guineas for a proof, consequently I shall not give the prin[illegible]

* Lord Beauchamp, afterwards second Marquis of Hertford, married secondly, 20th May, 1776, Isabella Anne, daughter of Viscount Irwin.

† M. Boers.

place in my collection. Macklin, the player, a few nights ago, in an apology he made to the audience for not remembering his part, told them he was in his eighty-ninth year. This is some comfort to you who complain of growing old; you have not as yet run half your race. Mr. Tarleton*, the Colonel that writes commentaries, is to walk to-day for a wager; he is to walk five miles in an hour. Which way will you bet? Lord Brudenell looks younger than ever; he lives now with the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, Mrs. Fitzherbert, and with everything that is gay and young. Lady Almeria Carpenter, is as much *affichée* with the Duke of Gloucester as Mrs. Fitzherbert is with the Prince. The Duchess of Gloucester, as Mr. Walpole told me yesterday, is fifty two-years old, and she really is still quite handsome, and, I think, far preferable to her rival. The King walks twelve miles in his way from Windsor to London, which is more than the Prince of Wales can do *à l'heure qu'il est.* So there is but little chance for the X's. Adieu.

I remain, with the greatest consideration and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

My compliments to your Ambassadress.

A. STORER.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, Jan. 25, 1788.

Dear Eden,—I received the day before yesterday, "Le Parterre justifié," and I thank you very much for it. I wonder that the tyranny of Nero was admitted, who imprisoned those who fell asleep while his verses were reciting.

This is a delightful season for Mrs. Eden, for everybody is going to be married. I hear of nothing else; who they are I do not well know; but

* Colonel Tarleton had rendered great service in the American war.

Io Pæans and *Hymen O Hymenæe* are singing everywhere. You know of Lord Wentworth and Lady Ligonier, and perhaps you have heard of Lord Ailesbury and Lady Anne Rawdon.* What sort of a match does Mrs. Eden call this? Is it a pretty match, a proper match, a prudent, or a suitable one? Miss Webster is going to be married to Mr. Chaplin. I know nothing of him. I do not imagine that he is rich. There are several more marriages shortly to take place, but I cannot recollect them.

You remember Lord Carmarthen invited last year the members of Opposition to his birthday dinner, as well as the supporters of Administration; this year, as I thought at first to show the same sort of impartiality to France as he had done to England, he invited the French Ambassador, and at the same time M. de Calonne. This was a joke that might pass with his own countrymen, but I should have thought it a *mauvaise plaisanterie* towards foreigners, and particularly to a new Ambassador. It seems that Lord Carmarthen says that he did not design it; he thought that Calonne had been engaged to Lord Salisbury's, and therefore he might safely do him the civility of asking him, as he was sure he could not come. As it turned out, he did come, and found himself cheek by jowl with his Excellency M. de la Luzerne. They say that Lady Clarges is going to be married to Mr. Aston. This is as yet only a report. If Madame de Chabannes has been forbidden the Court merely for having paid Calonne a visit, it does not seem very civil to have invited Calonne to meet the representative of Versailles at dinner. M. de la Luzerne does not seem inclined to take Adhemar for his model. I rather believe he will live with a few than with the multitude to whom Adhemar opened his house with so bad a grace, that he disobliged them all. There is some difficulty about his

* Lord Ailesbury and Lady Anne Rawdon, daughter of the first Earl of Moira, were married on the 24th February, 1788.

remaining in Adhemar's house; and he will find it not an easy thing to get a house that will suit him. The birthday has brought everybody to town; the opera overflows; the streets are alive; Court is full, and the Duchess of Cumberland's assembly a Calcutta.

In your next letter pray say a word about the prints. I feel like Don Chincilla in "Gil Blas," who sends a *placet* every morning to the Minister about his pension, but never gets an answer, yet still perseveres in hopes that he shall tire the Minister first, and that he will do his business for him in order to get rid of so troublesome a fellow.

The great spectacle of Mr. Hastings is now coming on; which way will you bet your money? Guilty or not?

Mr. Halhed*, who has been summoned by Burke, is off again this year. He passed last winter in Paris, lest, by staying here, he might be obliged to speak. The other day he again took his departure.

I am going to see a new actress to-day; she is a pretty woman. This evening, as Francis North would say, she makes her appearance on the boards of Covent Garden Theatre. Her name is Henry. Lord Pembroke knows her very well.

Give my best compliments to the Ambassadress, and believe me

Yours most sincerely,
A. STORER.

How do all the *bambini* do?

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, Feb. 8, 1788.

Dear Eden,—I suppose Mrs. Eden will be perfectly satisfied with the events of a few days passed in London. Besides Sir John Rous's† marriage, and Lord

* Commissioner for Oude.

† Sir John Rous, afterwards the first Earl of Stradbroke, married, 1st of January, 1788, the daughter and heiress of E. W. Wilson, Esq., of Bilboa, Co. Limerick.

Wentworth's, in the common way, we have had three runaway matches. A daughter of Lady Strathmore, Lady — Bowes*, Miss Clinton, General Sir Henry Clinton's daughter, and Lady Augusta Campbell, at last, are married to Mr. Jessop, Mr. Dawkins, and Mr. Clavering, the youngest son of General Clavering. His being only two-and-twenty, and Lady Augusta being a good many years older, makes people imagine that she rather ran away with him than he with her. They went away from the Duchess of Ancaster's, who saw masks that night. The Duchess of Argyll† went home, and thought that Lady Augusta would soon follow her, but after sitting up till five o'clock, and no Lady Augusta returning, she sent in search of her to the Duchess of Ancaster's. No tidings were to be learned there of the fair fugitive. She, it seems, as soon as her mother went home, left the Duchess with Mr. Clavering, and went with him to Bicester, in Oxfordshire, where they were married. She, it is said, was married in her *domino*. Accoutred as she was she plunged in. It is to be hoped she dropped the mask. The lover had been the day before to Cranbourne Alley, and had procured every kind of female dress necessary for Lady Augusta. After the marriage they returned to Salt Hill. The Duke of Argyll has written to her to say he will receive, and so it is to be hoped it will all end well. There seems to be a fatality attending the family of Gunning.

Miss Clinton had, the day before she eloped, offered to take her oath on the Bible that she would not marry Mr. Dawkins without Sir Henry's consent. He, after her solemn protestations, did not think it necessary to administer the oath; and she, perhaps, imagining that at some other time he might, lost no time in escaping from the sin of

* Lady Anna Maria Bowes was married on the 28th of January to Mr. Jessop.

† The celebrated beauty, Elizabeth Gunning, married, firstly, to the Duke of Hamilton; secondly, to the Duke of Argyll.

perjury, and likewise from her father's house. Mr. Dawkins had posted half a dozen hackney-coaches at the different corners which lead into Portland Place, in order that he might elude all pursuit; for as soon as the hackney-coach in which he was set off, all the others likewise had their orders to set off too, and go where they liked. The General, when he sallied out in quest of the runaway couple, asked the watchmen at one corner and then at another if they had seen any carriage go off? Each had seen a carriage. This went one way, that went another, a third had gone up the street, a fourth down, and so on. The General was like a dog in a rabbit warren, did not know where to follow, or which to pursue. In his perplexity he asked the vigilant Dogberry if he had seen any man go into his house. No; but he had seen a young lady go out of it in a great hurry. I know no more of this couple. Lady — Bowes lived in Fludyer Street, which you know is very narrow, and well it was, considering the bridge she passed to get to her lover, Mr. Jessop. She excused herself to her father for not coming down to supper, saying that it was inconsistent with female delicacy to be in company with so many men as were to sup with her father. As soon as everybody was gone to bed, she passed a ladder which had a plank laid upon it, and which reached from her window to that of her lover. She must pass this bridge. Leander was a fool to her. She had never seen this man but at his window, before she went over to him. So much for our marriages, which have scarcely left me room for anything else.

I must not forget to return you as many thanks as you have sent me prints, and I believe that will amount to 1300.

An eclogue, entitled "Jekyll," has made its appearance here, and has run like wildfire. It is the cleverest thing ever written. Everybody has it by heart; so that, what with poetry and love, we are all alive.

I dined yesterday with M. de la Luzerne. He met a day or two ago Calonne again at Lady Clermont's by accident. Indeed, I need not say it was by accident, as Lady Clermont is too sensible and too well bred to do such a thing designedly.

Give my best compliments to the Ambassadress, and congratulate her on her future prospects in Spain.

I am most sincerely yours,
A. STORER.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, Feb. 15th, 1788.

Dear Eden,—Having been at Hastings' trial all the morning, and having, too, been obliged to write the enclosed letter, which is a long one, and besides, a French one, I have hardly any time left before dinner, it being now near six o'clock, to say anything to your Excellency. I have been to Mr. Ramsden, who is, according to what I have always heard, not very punctual in keeping his promise. He tells me that the telescope shall be finished by September. He does not give any hopes of its being done before that time. I said and did all I could to hasten his work.

Mr. Burke opened the business to-day. The two preceding days were spent in reading the charges. He did not speak to-day above two hours. He is to go on to-morrow. The sight was fine, but, as for hearing, I own that I might as well have stayed in my own room. He was very cool, and was not extravagant in action, tone, or manner—as you have often seen him in the House of Commons. Sir Peter Burrell in a magnificent coat, ladies in fine caps, the Lords in robes, made altogether a splendid spectacle. The prisoner was but a mean-looking fellow, and did not appear at all as Alexander the Great ought to do at the Old Bailey.

Since I received yours I have not been at Sir Joshua's, but I will do all I can that your pictures

may be as good as they can be. You talk of the ghosts of Ramsay's pictures. Sir Joshua's performances will be as fleeting as the thinnest ghost that ever vanished from the canvas of Ramsay.

Give my best compliments to Mrs. Eden, and believe me,

Yours most sincerely,
A. STORER.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, Feb. 22, 1788.

Dear Eden,—Every week is not so rich in events as the late matrimonial one, nor does every young lady furnish so much town-talk as the three heroines of whom I gave you some account in my last. I take it for granted that Mrs. Eden is by this time pretty well satisfied with matches; there has, indeed, been quite a glut of them; but all these adventures, were they infinitely more interesting than they are, would soon be merged and forgotten in the trial of Mr. Hastings, which swallows up everything—no spectacle was ever so much resorted to. The manners, at least the hours of London, are completely changed. Everybody is up by nine o'clock, the ladies have finished their toilette by that time, and are at the door of Westminster Hall, pressing and squeezing to get good places within. Wonderful have been the effects of Mr. Burke's eloquence, even she who has drawn tears from so many others has shed them on hearing Mr. Burke's description of India. Mrs. Siddons, they say, was like Niobe, all tears, and Mrs. Sheridan fainted away. I have not heard of many other ladies who have expressed so much sensibility, so that any one inclined to doubt the real force of Mr. Burke's oratory, might think that Mrs. Sheridan's emotions were owing to her being a strenuous partisan, and Mrs. Siddon's to her being a good actress, and wishing to show her excellence on all occasions. The trial recommences to-day. There was a *relâche au théâtre* yesterday and

the day before. Mr. Fox spoke very unexpectedly on Tuesday on a point which you will see stated of course in the newspapers. Last night the Lords determined, by a majority of eighty-eight, I think, to eighty-three, that the charges should be made against Mr. Hastings collectively, and that he should answer to the whole. Lord Carlisle voted in the majority, the Prince of Wales in the minority. I cannot pretend to say wherein the decision of the Lords either was just or unjust, or how the public considers it. Lawyers, even, will have different opinions, and a spirit of party influences, in one manner or the other, every one that we meet.

On Tuesday I dined at Lady Clermont's with M. de Luzerne; we heard of course nothing but Hastings's trial, and this conversation occupied our attention so much, and made the time pass so quickly, that we did not get up from table till half an hour after ten, and before we had finished our coffee and tea, so much was the same strain of conversation continued above stairs, that it was half an hour after eleven before the party broke up, as it were, from dinner. This was an excellent dinner to give the French Ambassador a specimen of our customs. Mr. Fox, I said before, unexpectedly spoke on Tuesday. This was so much the case, that he flattered himself that he should have avoided doing so, that day particularly, as he had drunk so much wine the night before, that, as he said, he had not a clear idea in his mind; but as he went on in his speech, the mists were quickly dispelled, and on all hands it is agreed that he acquitted himself beyond everybody's expectation; such was the impression he made that day on the general audience, that tickets to-day are in very great request. Mr. Cracherode and myself were close to Westminster Hall on Tuesday, but would not go in, thinking that we should hear nothing but Burke, and so lost this most excellent performance of Mr. Fox's. There is a great dispute between Government and the East India Company about sending out the four regi-

ments. Mr. Fox is to open the charge about Benares to-day and Cheyt Sing, &c. Do not fail to present my best respects to Mrs. Eden, and if you see Sainte Foy, which of course you will, pray remember me to him, and tell him I will write to him soon. Be so good as to read the enclosed to Belin the bookseller.

I remain, with the greatest sincerity,

Yours, &c.

A. STORER.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, Feb. 29, 1788.

Dear Eden,—Somebody told me, a day or two ago, that after this day no letters were to be forwarded to you at Paris from the Secretary of State's office. I do not believe this intelligencer to be entirely worthy of credit, yet fearing he may have been well informed, I must have a word with you at parting, if it be only to wish you a good journey. You will perceive from the papers that in addition to Hastings's trial, of which there is now to be a suspension during the circuit, we have some business at the India House to occupy us. On Monday next Erskine is to be heard before the House of Commons, in support of the chartered rights of the East India Company, and Mr. Pitt is to show the propriety of their being divested of all rights, and is to bring in a bill, of course more fatal to their powers and privileges than ever Mr. Fox did, in proportion as a bill that annihilates for ever is more destructive than one which suspended their powers for only five years; but their chartered rights will vanish like smoke, without any cry probably in the country, and the present Minister will be Minister still, in spite of all his inconsistencies, as long as he has the support of the Crown.

I should be alarmed about this Negro business, did I not hear that Lord Sydney has sense enough to find out the absurdity of it, and therefore I take for granted the part that Mr. Pitt takes in it is merely acted in

order that he may not be supposed to be an enemy to liberty, or an advocate for slavery. We have in Jamaica, it is said,—and yet, on recollection, I will not say the number of slaves, because I can hardly believe it,—but, in short, we have a great number, all of whom either directly or indirectly tend to support, by the exchange of our sugars, the manufactures of Great Britain. If the African trade is abolished, our islands must go too, and the manufacture follows of course. Government cannot be in earnest about this matter, the pretending to be so may be attended with fatal consequences. Mr. Dundas said before several persons the other day; with that generous frankness which is his characteristic, that opposition had done his Job for him, "they had knocked up Mr. Hastings's pretensions to the Board of Control, and had ruined the Bengal squad." Lord Maitland*, to whom he said it, begged him to repeat it, which he very obligingly did, to four or five persons more collected round him on the floor of the House of Commons.

This week has been productive of another elopement, not of the same nature with those which we had about a month ago. Lady Archer's† three daughters have made a secession from their mother's house, and have set up a separate establishment. Lady Archer had a very great allowance for their maintenance, and it is supposed that the young ladies thought that too great a portion of it might go to the support of the faro table, and too little a part of it to theirs, and in consequence of this they wished to have the management of their affairs in their own hands. Marchesi‡, the famous singer, is just arrived, who is to be the next object of public curiosity and attention. Lord Brudenell is quite nervous on this occasion, as well as perhaps his brother, Lord Aylesbury, on another account. Give my best compliments

* Son of Lord Lauderdale.
† Widow of the second Baron Archer.
‡ The great tenor.

to Mrs. Eden, and wishing prosperity to you and all your children, I take my leave. Adieu.

I am, yours most sincerely,

A. STORER.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, March 14, 1788.

Dear Eden,—It is rather, perhaps, because I may not be able to write to you by the next courier, than because I have any particular news to communicate, that I write to you to-day. I must not forget to thank you for the theological work of M. Necker, the reading of which, however, I shall certainly decline. His works on finance, which probably he understands better than divinity, carry so little conviction with them, and convey, in my opinion, so little truth, that I shall not be tempted to read his religious compositions; as he is so far from being orthodox on the first subject, I cannot suppose he will be perfectly so on the latter. Of course I did not keep your book long; it arrived on Sunday, when I had a most violent headache, and was up to my knees in hot water to alleviate the pain in my head. I began, however, to run over a few pages of his religious performance; it proved to me that M. Necker was such a vain, discontented, fretful coxcomb, that I lost all patience both with him and his book, and my spleen was exerted to such a degree, that I am sure I should have thrown the book into the fire, had I not had your orders to give it to Lord North. I carried it to him the next day. We have had during the recess of Mr. Hastings's trial an interlude about sending the four regiments to India, which has furnished matter of triumph to some of my friends,—indeed, triumphs are sorry things when they are attended with no other consequences than those of being superior in argument. The chartered rights have now but a poor chance.

Your friend the French Ambassador has been giving great dinners to all great men and great officers of State. His dinners have been generally considered as perfectly magnificent. I saw him at the Richmond play, and I understood he had been very much embarrassed with the construction of the ticket, which was to carry him into his Grace's theatre. The name of the person, whom the ticket was to admit, was written on the ticket, which was printed. It was said on the ticket that nobody but the bearer of it would be admitted; but at the bottom there was notice given that no one was to come with a high head-dress, or with a hoop. His Excellency did not know perhaps what a hoop meant; his *accommodage* he thought enough. In his perplexity he waited on Lady Clermont, to know whether he was properly equipped for the spectacle; she explained to him that the Duke, perhaps out of economy, had printed only cards for ladies, and the direction was only meant for women, and it was not addressed to men. Lord Henry Fitzgerald* certainly is a very fine actor. Lady Townshend's † death has placed Lord John Townshend in very good circumstances, and General Carpenter's ‡ has happened very luckily to provide Lord Howard with another regiment. Sir Gregory Turner seems to have entertained the House of Commons very much yesterday on the debate of the shop tax.

To-night there is a ball at Cumberland House. In a day or two is to begin the auction at Adhemar's, which I suppose will be the rendezvous of all London, and I dare say the town of London will do honour to his late Excellency by bidding extravagantly for all his goods and chattels. M. de la Luzerne goes into the house which Lady Home built in Portman Square, in a day or two. If I do not

* Brother of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.
† Lady Townshend was Lord John Townshend's grandmother.
‡ General Carpenter was equerry to the King.

write to you before you proceed on your journey, you will give me directions what I am to do about writing. I hope your embassy may be but of short duration, and that you soon may be sent for to replace his Grace of Dorset at Paris. It will be disagreeable to go to Spain, but that will be but a slight ill in comparison with staying there five or six years. A good journey to you, and prosperity attend you. I am sorry the winter seems to have come back again. The little *bambini* will be frozen; it is to be hoped that with bearskins and muffs they may do pretty well. How does the American nurse do? She will have seen more of the globe than I have, and I shall envy her very much.

Do not fail to present my compliments to Mrs. Eden, and believe me,

Yours very sincerely,
A. Storer.

Mr. Storer to Mr. Eden.

Golden Square, April 4th, 1788.

Dear Eden,—I have taken a large sheet of paper, not that I am as yet aware that I have much to say to you, but in case I should write a long letter, that I may not be obliged to stop in the middle of a sentence, lest I should make you pay an additional postage. Do not be apprehensive that the expense of receiving your letters is an object to me, if mine are worth the postage, and you think that anything that I can write from England during your residence in Spain can be worth your notice, my pen is certainly at your service. This is the least return I can make to you for having had friendship enough to offer to take me as participem legationis tuæ. Now I mention the expense of postage, I must not forget the caution you give me about the possibility there may be of a postmaster's opening my letters. I own, as I know no secrets, and likewise can know none, inasmuch as I

live at present with the side which is kept in the dark, consequently I shall write very unreservedly: you may have reasons for being cautious in what you write; but I must consider what I do, as a second sort of newspaper opposition can have no secrets worth the notice of either Spain or France. What we know, they can know. Unluckily for them, as well as for opposition, the circumstances of this country seem to be in a flourishing state, while the deficit of France is so considerable. Mr. Pitt is to have surplus on surplus. If it should be below the dignity of an ambassador like yourself to receive letters from an old shipmate on the trifling occurrences of your own country, you must renounce me as a correspondent. I can no more talk of state affairs than the tradesmen who are admitted, according to Mr. Pavonarin's account, after dinner to Buckingham House. I feel, now you are going to Spain, as if you were much farther removed from us than if you were in America.

I have a great many letters which Fritz Robinson wrote me, when he was in Spain; these I shall read over again, to give me some idea of the country you are going to inhabit. The *report*, however, of your return has taken place, even before you have reached the foot of the Pyrenees; it is said that one or both of the Secretaries of State are to go out, that Lord Hawkesbury succeeds in that department, and that you take his place. What somebody said a few days ago in the newspaper about Lord Thurlow, was perhaps more characteristic of the person than even the author was aware. Mr. Pitt (it was said) was sick of him, for that the Chancellor growls at everything, proposes nothing, and supports everything. Mr. Bridgman is to be married to Miss Byng, a daughter of Lord Torrington's. Daughters without fortunes do as well as if they had a great one. Neither Miss Pulteney nor Lady Charlotte Bertie are as yet married. Mr. Vyner and Lady Theodosia Ashburnham are, at last, decidedly to be married.

We have had a new tragedy acted within these two or three days, which has had great success. The author, a Mr. Greathed *, brother of a boy we both remember at Eton, and who was a great friend of mine, but a violent foe to Lord Carlisle †,—so great a one, that he commenced a literary war, I remember, against Lord Carlisle for the good-natured verses wrote in commendation of his schoolfellows. The tragedy is called the "Regent," and is very interesting: it wants pruning. The effect of it on the audience was very striking. We have had M. Gardelie here for Madame Coulon's benefit. Marchesi sings, for the first time, next Saturday.

The declaratory act, as it is called, seems to have hurt Mr. Pitt a good deal; it was a most indecent thing; and nothing but the necessity of sending the troops to India could justify a measure which is so directly contradictory to his former declarations. I dare say the fault is all Dundas's. I send you, by way of something to relax the Spanish gravity which the approach to that country has already communicated to you, the copy of what was found on Lady Clarges's cushion at the opera, written on a card. The French Ambassador has been, I imagine, more for dissipation than with an intention of seeing the country, upon a tour to Blenheim and Stowe. I told him the season was not far advanced enough for him to judge of the beauty of these places; but he said he wished to be out of town, and out of the world for a little time; and so having done me the honour to consult me about his journey, he proceeded on his expedition.

The Duke of Dorset was expected in town last

* Mr. Greathed, of Guy's Cliff, Warwick. Mrs. Siddons once resided in his family.

† Mr. Storer is much commended in these verses. Lord Carlisle and Mr. Storer had been friends at school, and in after life had been almost inseparable. Mr. Storer had accompanied Lord Carlisle to America and Ireland. There seems to have been some differences between them in 1783, which were never put an end to.

night to receive his riband, which is to be given him this Chapter. Calonne seems as much in vogue as ever; he goes everywhere, and seems to amuse himself perfectly well. By this time you are satisfied with the *farrago libelli.*

Give my best compliments to Madame l'Ambassadrice, and hoping all the light infantry are well, I remain,

Yours most sincerely,

A. STORER.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PROJET.

Sa Majesté le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne et sa Majesté le Roi Très Chrétien, étant convenus par l'article xviii du Traité de Paix, signé le 6 septembre 1782, qu'il seroit travaillé à de nouveaux arrangemens de commerce, sur le fondement de la réciprocité et de la convenance mutuelle, leurs dites Majestés ont jugé que le seul moyen de remplir un but aussi utile étoit, non-seulement de faire cesser l'état de prohibition où les deux nations se trouvent l'une à l'égard de l'autre, mais aussi de diminuer les droits actuellement établis, auxquels d'autres nations ne sont point sujettes, et qui équivalent à une prohibition. Mais comme le développement de ces principes exigera beaucoup de détails et de discussion, leurs dites Majestés ont autorisé les Plénipotentiaires qu'elles ont nommés, pour cet effet, à poser dès à présent, par un Traité Préliminaire, les bases sur lesquelles le commerce général devra être fondé. En conséquence les dits Plénipotentiaires, après s'être communiqué leurs pleins pouvoirs, sont convenus des articles suivants.

Article 1.— Comme il s'agit de faire cesser la fraude, qui est une suite nécessaire du système de prohibition et des droits actuellement existants; comme aussi d'établir entre les sujets des deux hautes parties contractantes une liberté plus étendue de navigation et de commerce dans tous leurs domaines situés en Europe, il est convenu que les sujets des hautes parties contractantes ne seront point astreints à des prohibitions ou à des droits d'entrée auxquels d'autres nations ne sont ou ne seront point assujetties; excepté néanmoins les réserves exclusives, stipulées dans les traités de commerce que l'une des hautes parties contractantes peut avoir faits, ou pourra faire ci-après, avec d'autres puissances. Se réservant, en outre, la faculté de modifier ce nouveau système suivant que l'exigeront

l'intérêt des manufacturiers et des commerçans respectifs, ainsi que la sûreté du revenu des deux gouvernemens. Il est convenu néanmoins, que ces modifications qui pourroient être établies ne seront exécutées que six mois après avoir été communiquées à celle des deux cours, à l'égard de laquelle elles devront avoir lieu.

Article 2. — Tout changement subit, en matière de commerce, pouvant avoir des inconvéniens, Leurs Majestés Britannique et Très Chrétienne se sont réservé la liberté de ne faire cesser, qu'une année après la signature du Traité à conclure, les prohibitions qu'elles auront consenti respectivement à révoquer. Quant aux réductions qu'il s'agira de faire sur les droits d'entrée, dont sont chargées actuellement les denrées et marchandises respectives, elles auront également la liberté de les faire exécuter la moitié dès la première année et l'année suivante de l'autre moitié.

Article 3. — Toutes les stipulations du traité de commerce, signé à Utrecht en 1713, auxquelles il ne sera pas dérogé, seront conservées et maintenues dans toute leur force et insérées dans le nouveau Traité qu'il s'agit de conclure.

Article 4. — Le commerce étant sujet à des variations qui peuvent en changer la nature et le cours, il est convenu que le dit Traité ne durera que pendant l'espace de dix années, après lesquelles il sera regardé comme non avenu, à moins que les deux souverains ne conviennent de le proroger, en attendant qu'ils jugent à propos de le renouveler et de le confirmer.

Article 5. — Aussitôt après la ratification du présent Traité Préliminaire, les Plénipotentiaires soussignés continueront leurs conférences pour s'occuper des moyens propres à étendre le système de réciprocité qu'il s'agit d'établir, autant que la prospérité des deux Royaumes pourra le permettre, et pour convenir d'un double tarif propre à favoriser, entre les deux nations, un commerce licite des productions de leur sol et de celles de leur industrie.

Article 6. — Sa Majesté Britannique et sa Majesté Très Chrétienne désirant faire jouir, le plus tôt qu'il sera possible, leurs sujets respectifs des avantages d'un commerce réciproque, commenceront (aussitôt après l'échange de la ratification du présent Traité et en attendant la rédaction des tarifs) à mettre provisoirement en exécution, autant que faire se pourra, la diminution des droits ou la suppression des prohibitions, dont il aura été convenu par les Plénipotentiaires.

Article 7.— Sa Majesté Britannique aura la faculté de faire participer tous ses états en Europe, tant au présent Traité qu'aux arrangemens de commerce qui seront faits en conséquence.

Article 8.—Le présent Traité sera ratifié par leurs Majestés Britannique et Très Chrétienne, et les ratifications en seront échangées dans l'espace de six semaines ou plus tôt si faire se peut.

The following is the letter of Mr. Pitt on the projet just agreed to by M. de Rayneval and Mr. Eden.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

(Private.) Downing Street, May 10th, 1786.

My dear Sir,—Since the receipt of your despatch yesterday, I have had an opportunity of considering with as much attention as I can what appears to be the present state of the negotiation, and have also endeavoured to compare our ideas of the proposed Treaty with the particulars of the information contained in the *Recueil des Droits* with which you have furnished us. As from this consideration there are many points which strike me in a new light, I am anxious to state to you what occurs to me. In the first instance, you will be able to set me right if I have misapprehended any particulars; and I beg you will also be so good as to let me know fully every objection which you may feel to any of the conclusions I may form. I should add, that the greatest part of what I am going to state I have scarcely communicated to any one, and that my wish is to receive your answer upon them, before we proceed to discuss here your final instructions respecting the project, which discussion you will find, by Lord Carmarthen's despatch, cannot now take place before the return of this messenger.

The first point which I wish to mention relates to the immediate effect of the project, if it should be agreed to in its present shape. I have always considered the general idea of abolishing on each side every hostile and invidious distinction (which is the avowed object of the Treaty) as perfectly right in itself, and a good foundation of proper settlement. But I have a great doubt whether the situation in which France has put herself does not make this principle fallacious in the

application of it to the present case. France will certainly secure immediately (besides the abolition of an additional 50 per cent. on all articles imported into this country) the advantage of importing her linens on moderate duties, and her wine at about one-fourth less duty than at present. We shall perhaps gain a corresponding advantage in some of the smaller articles of trade, but how will it stand in those of most importance. The hardware, which appears to have been till last year prohibited only from this country, was then, as far as relates to articles of polished steel and polished iron, prohibited from all countries. The only advantage, therefore, which we shall gain in the great article (to which we principally looked in the outset) will be in articles not of polished steel or iron. But the prohibition on articles of that description (which are much the largest part of the manufacture) being general, will subsist, notwithstanding the terms of the Treaty. The article of earthenware, of which M. Rayneval speaks with apprehension, comes, as we conceive, under the description of Fayence. If it does, the duty on the lower parts of the manufacture would (as stated by Lord Carmarthen) be nearly prohibitory, and our advantage in that article would probably be very confined.

The cottons (which, if any part of them had been placed under moderate duties, would have been a great inducement) are also, by an edict of last year, under general prohibition. In that branch, therefore, we should, by the terms of the Treaty, gain nothing. In cloths, it appears that the prohibition is confined to this country. As such it would be abolished; but I apprehend the duty which would take place would be nearly 30 per cent. in most instances.

Not knowing how the rate is calculated, I cannot well judge of this duty, but I should fear it must be almost equivalent to a prohibition. If this is so, the immediate benefit of the Treaty would be little or none, unless we can be secure that it shall be accompanied with a revocation of some, if not all, of the late prohibition.

In the early part of your correspondence you mentioned this as likely to take place. And on this the whole question (as to the present effect of the Treaty) seems to me to depend. If those edicts are revoked, the hardware alone, but certainly the hardware and cotton, at any moderate duties, would, in addition to whatever we could introduce of the earthenware, be an ample equivalent for all we give. But without this, I do not see that we secure anything worth naming, and, therefore, the abolition of those edicts ought either to be

expressly stipulated, or in fact to precede the signature of the Treaty.

The next point is, supposing the Treaty actually beneficial in its present effects, what security is there that it shall last on the part of France for twelvemonths? If she does away the general prohibitions now, she may renew them, or lay any others, provided they are general, at any moment. It is true we shall have the same power by virtue of the Treaty; but from the nature of the commerce of the two countries, France can, if she is so disposed, exceed such a power. We cannot. France can at any time prohibit in general either hardware, or cotton, or earthenware. Two of them at least she has in fact prohibited. But we can never expect to be able to prohibit either wine, or brandy, or linen from all countries. Whatever advantage, therefore, France would derive is, as far as it goes, secure; whatever we derive is precarious; and, therefore, even if the Treaty were more advantageous to us than to France in its immediate effect, she might at any moment hereafter reverse that effect, and even without breaking the Treaty: surely, therefore, we ought not to bind ourselves unless France be, to some effectual purpose, bound also. The first expedient that occurs is to insert an article in this Treaty, stipulating that during its continuance, the articles of hardware, &c., shall continue free from prohibition, and subject to a duty not exceeding a certain rate. Perhaps, to give an appearance of reciprocity, it might be right to make a similar stipulation in favour of their wines, linens, &c., though they would in truth be secure without it. If such an article cannot be admitted into this Treaty, it would remain to consider whether we can trust to its being inserted in the future Treaty to complete these arrangements. This I think could not otherwise be done, than by making the whole of the present Treaty void, unless the further arrangements are completed within a limited time, for otherwise France might evade any further agreement for the purpose of retaining the advantages (small as they perhaps are) which she will gain at present, while she would have at the same time the means of defeating ours.

If the preceding reasoning is just, we cannot conclude the Treaty in its present state, without being secure of the revocation of the prohibitory edicts. Whether France will make any difficulty in this respect I cannot at present judge. Even if this point is obtained, we must still obtain a security by this Treaty against the renewal of prohibitions, which, from what you state of the apparent temper of the

French Government, would perhaps not be easily agreed to; or if we fail in this, we must make the validity of the present Treaty depend on the conclusion of no other. This last expedient would, perhaps, give too nugatory an appearance to the present Treaty; and would besides, by rendering its duration precarious, prevent the chief immediate advantage of it,—that of encouraging industry and raising the demand of our manufactures. I own these circumstances give me serious apprehensions that it may be impossible to bring the project to completion, and that we may be obliged to recur to some other mode. The most desirable event certainly is to be enabled to conclude according to the present plan. If we obtain satisfaction on the points I have mentioned, I think we might authorise signing the Treaty without it. My present opinion is that we could not, and in that case we must endeavour to do the next best we can. Should this be our situation, I am inclined to think the shortest and wisest way would be to lay aside the idea of a preliminary Treaty, and proceed at once to a complete and final arrangement.

In what I say on this subject, I shall merely throw out ideas floating in my own mind; and not even any decided opinion of my own, much less anything which I can at all answer for, as likely to be the opinion of Government. I conceive if we were agreed what sort of Treaty would in the end be desirable, it might be easy to shift the course of the negotiation in a way which would give no offence or jealousy. We might state that we approved originally of the general principle of the project, — that we approve of it as a general principle still, — that our only objection is, that it is not particular or binding enough in fixing the future intercourse of the two countries,— that under the pretence of general prohibitions, the object which both sides have now in view might hereafter be defeated, —and that from the candour and fairness which the French Ministers have hitherto shown, we are inclined to think that the great end would be more speedily and distinctly obtained by proceeding at once to a definitive settlement.

We might then state, that in the extensive intercourse between two great neighbouring nations there must be innumerable articles of trade too minute to admit of a specific arrangement. That all these would properly be left under the general principle of being admissible on the terms of the most favoured nations; but that the great and leading articles which required separate discussion lay on each side in a narrow compass. Those which France wishes to send to England are probably linen, cambric, wine, brandy,

and some sorts of woollens. Those which we should wish to send to France are cotton, some sorts of woollens, hardware, and earthenware. There are some other articles, such as hats, paper, leather, &c., on which it is perhaps doubtful which way the advantage would lie; though perhaps the prejudices in this country would justify our stating the intercourse in them as beneficial to France. The silk, to be sure, must be kept out of the question; and for that reason we must on our side probably say nothing of the gauze. On this idea it is to be considered, whether a plan might not be proposed which would appear fair, and, perhaps, in fact be advantageous to both countries (though I am certainly persuaded in my own mind that it would be most so to us). May not our cottons and the species of woollens where we should have the advantage be naturally set against their linens and cambrics, and such of the woollens as they may be superior in? And would it not seem fair that these articles should be respectively interchanged on moderate duties?

If thus far the balance should appear to be in our favour (which perhaps would not appear to any great degree on the face of it), might it not be made up to France in the remaining articles? Suppose us to agree to waive the Methuen Treaty, and to take both the wines and brandies on the terms of the most favoured nation, or perhaps making some abatement even below the lowest rate of duty at present (which I am inclined to think we might do with advantage to our revenue on those articles, and without injuring either our distillery or our plantations). In return for this, we should desire the admission of our hardware and earthenware at moderate duties. I should not despair that this project might be accepted. Notwithstanding what is stated of the difficulty of an increased supply of French wine, it should be remembered that France formerly sent to this country 10,000 or 12,000 tons. Supposing the duty reduced to that on port wine or lower, allowing for our increased consumption, and supposing the plan of the excise to take place, France might expect to introduce many wines of a worse growth than claret; and, perhaps, to push her exportation to us as high as at any former period. If she saw anything like a prospect of this, and of some fresh advantage also in brandy, the idea would, I think, be tempting.

The outline of such a Treaty would be "that all articles in general should be brought from each country to the other on the terms of the most favoured nation, and in addition to this general stipulation that the particular articles specified

above should in no case be subject to prohibition during the continuance of the Treaty, but should be admissible at a duty, not exceeding a certain amount, to be fixed by the Treaty on each of such articles respectively." The chief point on which there might be a doubt here is the waiving the Methuen Treaty. But considering the present state of our Portugal trade, the dependence in which Portugal must always be on the markets of this country, and the great advantage to be received from France in return for what we should give, I am inclined to think that this point ought not to be in the way of the Treaty, if in other respects desirable.

On the whole, however, this general idea is only for consideration. I mention it only as holding out some prospect of an alternative, in case the objection I make to the Treaty as now proposed should not on full examination appear to be groundless, or should not be removed by further stipulations. From the haste in which I have been obliged to write, I have been longer and less distinct than I wish, but I am desirous of detaining the messenger as little as possible. If the additional delay which is thus interposed should make any explanation necessary, it may naturally be accounted for from the present state of parliamentary business, in addition to which you might also allege the illness of the Chancellor, who though now better, has been confined above a fortnight, and a great part of the time in much danger. I lament very sincerely the impossibility of our proceeding quicker in this great work, but it is too important to be decided upon, without taking every measure to clear up whatever is doubtful in it, and it is never to be wondered at that unforeseen delays arise in such a business. I still entertain very earnest wishes and even sanguine hopes as to its final result. I am, with great truth and regard, my dear Sir, yours most sincerely,

W. PITT.

P.S.—I congratulate you on the Frenchman added to your family, and am happy to hear so good an account of Mrs. Eden.

DECLARATION.

His Majesty the King of Great Britain having agreed with His Most Christian Majesty, by the 18th article of the Treaty of Peace, signed the 6th of September, 1783, that new arrangements of commerce should be concerted on the basis of

reciprocity and mutual convenience, and thinking that the abolition of every distinction which particularly affects their respective subjects in their commercial intercourse with each other, and puts them on a worse footing than those of other nations, will best conduce to this salutary purpose, and tend, at the same time, to confirm and perpetuate the peace which happily subsists between the two crowns, is willing and desirous to proceed to the conclusion of a Treaty of Commerce with His Most Christian Majesty, on the following grounds and principles.

1. — That all prohibitions and duties shall be abolished, which particularly affect the navigation or commerce of the subjects of the two sovereigns, and put them on a worse footing than those of other countries, always excepting the subjects of any power for whom any special privileges or advantages may be expressly reserved, in consequence of Treaties already made by either of the high contracting parties with such powers.

2. — But as this general principle may not of itself be sufficient to answer the wise and salutary purpose of opening a commercial intercourse between their respective dominions, for the mutual benefit of both, and might hereafter be rendered illusory, by prohibitions or duties which, though general, may in their operation principally affect the importation, use, or sale of goods being the produce and manufacture of the dominions of one of their said Majesties, in the dominions of the other, His Britannic Majesty proposes that their respective Ministers shall immediately enter on consideration of the amount of specific duties, not to be hereafter exceeded, on articles which it may be found convenient to regulate by such specific stipulation, always preserving the principle of a fair and open intercourse between the two kingdoms, in such manner as may be most consistent with the revenue and commerce of each.

3. — But although, in order to give stability to a commercial arrangement founded on the principles before mentioned, it is necessary that it should not in any respect be altered by the high contracting parties; yet, as every system of commerce is subject, from time to time, to changes, which may require new alterations, His Britannic Majesty proposes that the high contracting parties shall reserve to themselves a right, at the end of ten years, to be computed from the day on which this Treaty shall be signed, to reconsider and revise the several stipulations therein contained, and to

propose and make such alterations therein as the circumstances of the times may be found to require, and as may be thought conducive to the commercial interests of the subjects of their respective kingdoms.

4. — His Britannic Majesty proposes that all the stipulations of the Treaty of Commerce signed at Utrecht in 1713, which shall not be annulled by the present Treaty, shall be preserved in full force, and inserted in the Treaty to be now concluded.

CONTRE-DÉCLARATION.

Le but que le Roi s'est proposé, par l'article dix-huit du Traité de Paix, signé le six septembre mil sept cent quatre-vingt-trois, a été le même que celui de Sa Majesté le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne, Savoir, de détruire toutes les distinctions qui ont mis, jusqu'à présent, leurs sujets respectifs, relativement à la navigation et au commerce, sur un pied plus désavantageux que les sujets des autres puissances; et Sa Majesté pense, comme Sa Majesté Britannique, que le moyen le plus propre à remplir cet objet important à la satisfaction commune, et à consolider en même temps la paix et la bonne harmonie subsistantes entre les deux couronnes, est de conclure entr'elles un Traité de Commerce, qui aura pour base les principes suivans, énoncés dans la déclaration remise par Mr. Eden, le neuf du présent mois.

Premier. — Que toutes les prohibitions, et tous les droits établis dans les deux Royaumes, à l'égard de la navigation et du commerce des sujets respectifs, et qui les mettent sur un pied plus désavantageux que ceux des autres états, seront et demeureront abolis. Bien entendu néanmoins, que cette abolition ne portera point sur les priviléges et les avantages que l'une et l'autre des deux hautes parties contractantes peut avoir réservés expressément, en faveur des sujets de quelqu'autre puissance.

2. — Que pour assurer d'autant mieux le commerce réciproque qu'il s'agit d'établir entre les deux nations, et pour prévenir toutes dispositions qui pourroient rendre illusoire le principe qui doit lui servir de fondement, les Plénipotentiaires respectifs commenceront, sans délai, à examiner la qualité des droits qui se perçoivent actuellement

de part et d'autre, et à fixer ceux qui devront être payés par la suite, ils auront attention dans la détermination de ces mêmes droits de ne pas perdre de vue que l'intention des deux hautes parties contractantes est de favoriser, l'une chez l'autre, le commerce de leurs sujets respectifs, sans nuire à l'industrie nationale non plus qu'au revenu public, en même temps, sans rendre illusoire les faveurs qu'elles accorderont réciproquement à leurs sujets.

3. — Que les droits dont on conviendra ne pourront être changés pendant la durée du Traité qu'il s'agit de conclure, et que, vu les vicissitudes auxquelles le commerce est exposé, le dit Traité ne durera que l'espace de dix années, après lesquelles les hautes parties contractantes en examineront de nouveau les stipulations, et y feront les changemens que le temps et les circonstances leur paraîtront exiger.

4. — Que toutes les stipulations du traité de commerce signé à Utrecht en l'année mil sept cent treize, qui ne seront pas changées ou annulées, seront conservées et maintenues dans toute leur force, et insérées dans le prochain traité.

En foi de quoi, nous Commissaire et Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, à ce dûment autorisés, *avons* signé la présente Contre-déclaration.

Donné à Versailles le seize juin mil sept cent quatre-vingt-six.

(L.S.) Signé GÉRARD DE RAYNEVAL.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, July 18th, 1786.

Sir,—Your despatches, Nos. 25 and 26, with their several inclosures, having been very maturely considered, I have received His Majesty's pleasure to convey to you the following instructions upon them:—

In answer to the question put by M. de Rayneval in his *observations confidentielles*, whether England has any engagements of a commercial nature similar to those by which France is pledged to Spain by the family compact, it may be alleged that Great Britain has no treaty with any foreign

nation, by which she has stipulated to grant any special privileges or advantages to the subjects of any foreign power, except the treaty with Portugal of the 27th December, 1703, which applies to wine only, and stipulates that the wines of Portugal shall be imported upon a duty one-third less than those of France.

It is impossible to consent to the abolition of all prohibitory duties, as suggested by M. de Rayneval in the paper before mentioned; but His Majesty is ready to treat for the abolition of all prohibitions and all duties which place the navigation and commerce of the subjects of France upon a more disadvantageous footing than those of any other State, except in the case of wine imported from Portugal, as before stated, and to specify the rate of duty (which shall not be exceeded) upon some particular articles. This is the proposition made by His Majesty in the declaration presented to the Court of Versailles by you, and beyond this you are not authorised to engage.

In conformity to this principle, the duty on the wines of France, which is at present 96*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* per tun, will be reduced to 61*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* per tun, and His Majesty is ready to engage, if it is desired by the Court of France, that the duty shall not be raised beyond that amount during the continuance of this Treaty. This is a reduction of more than one-third of the subsisting duties, and leaves the duties on the wines of France precisely one-third more than those now paid on the wines of Portugal.

In conformity to the same principle, the brandies of France will not pay higher duty than brandies imported from any other foreign country; and as the brandies of France are of a superior quality, they will upon equal duties have a preference in the consumption of this country above other foreign brandies. The vinegars of France pay at present a duty of 67*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* per tun; but in conformity to the principle above mentioned, they will pay no more than 32*l.* 18*s.* 11⅓*d.*, which reduces the duty more than one-half; and from their superior quality, they will also have a preference in the consumption of this country. The circumstances of our own distilleries, and of our trade in rum with our own Colonies, may make it inconvenient to engage for any particular rate of duty upon the brandies and vinegars of France, but the advantage given to them in the manner before mentioned seems sufficient to answer the object which the French Court has in view.

In return for these advantages, which relate to objects of such importance to the commerce of France, it is expected that the Court of Versailles shall consent that the hardware

manufactures, and the woollen and worsted manufactures, including worsted hosiery of the European dominions of His Majesty and His Most Christian Majesty, should be allowed to be imported into the dominions of each upon reasonable duties.

You will endeavour to learn the sentiments of the French Court with respect to the duties on which they will consent to allow such importation of hardware and woollens. It is conceived that the present duties on worsted hosiery imported into France are sufficiently low. You are in possession of all the evidence taken before the Committee of Privy Council on what relates to the opening a commercial intercourse with France, and you will find in that of the Sheffield manufacturers, taken on the 6th of February, and in that of the Birmingham manufacturers, taken on the 11th and 15th of March, their opinions on the advantages to be derived in opening a commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms in these manufactures, as well as on the amount of the duties subject to which such intercourse should be opened. They all agree that the duties on these articles cannot be too low, and certainly should not exceed ten per cent. In treating on this point, you will endeavour to obtain that polished grates and other iron manufactures of a superior quality should be included under the head of hardware.

With respect to the woollen and worsted manufactures, you will find in the evidence of the Norwich manufacturers, taken on the 20th of January; of the Essex manufacturers, taken on the 13th of February; of the Yorkshire manufacturers, taken on the 21st of January; and of the Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Gloucestershire manufacturers, taken on the 10th of February and 9th and 14th of March, their opinions on what relates to the opening the trade in the woollen and worsted manufactures of the two kingdoms. The wish of all these manufacturers, except of those who are concerned in making the finest sort of broad cloths, is, that the trade in these articles should be opened on a low duty, at highest not more than 10 per cent.

In Mr. Everett's evidence, taken on the 14th of March, it is suggested that the duties might be as follows:—Threepence per yard on cloths under five shillings per yard, sixpence per yard from five to twelve shillings, one shilling per yard from twelve shillings per yard and upwards. This perhaps might be the best mode to be adopted, and is most likely to reconcile the different interest of those concerned in the several branches of the woollen and worsted manufactures.

In conformity to the general principle above stated, the duties on French linens imported into Great Britain will be reduced from 25 per cent. to the duties now payable on linens imported from Holland and Flanders, being from 25 to 30 per cent., according to their quality. And when it is considered how great the import of French linens into this country was, compared with those imported from other foreign countries, when the duties on all such linens were nearly the same, we have a right to argue that France will derive great advantages from this concession.

You will always insist that in allowing the importation into this kingdom of any article the growth or manufacture of France, which is necessarily consumed by the people of Great Britain, and which the soil of it cannot produce, such as wine, or which the people of this country do not manufacture in sufficient quantity for their own consumption, such as linen, Great Britain gives to France a sufficient advantage by allowing them to be imported upon as advantageous a footing as they are imported from any other foreign country, as far as is consistent with the stipulations of any existing treaty. And the fact is, that notwithstanding the high duties imposed on these articles, the importation of them from foreign countries has always been great, and the laws lately made with respect to the trade in wine will contribute to increase very considerably the importation of that article.

His Majesty will also be ready to treat for the taking off the prohibition on cambrics and lawns imported from France, and for imposing a duty of from about 12 to 15 per cent., or six shillings per demi-piece on the same. This will open the markets of this kingdom to French cambrics and lawns, particularly to the finer sorts, in which the French manufacturers most excel. It should be observed that all these concessions with respect to linens must be understood to apply to their importation into Great Britain only; for in Ireland there is a general prohibition on the importation of foreign linens of all sorts, and it may perhaps be found that the Parliament of Ireland may be less disposed to remove the general prohibition into that kingdom of all foreign linens, than the Parliament of Great Britain may be to reduce the present duty on French linens, to that which is paid on other foreign linens.

In return for these advantages, it will be proper that you should insist that the cottons manufactured in the kingdoms of each sovereign should be allowed to be imported into those of the other upon a reasonable duty. You will find in

the evidence of Mr. Samuel Salt, taken on the 8th of March, as far as relates to muslins; in the evidence of Mr. Joseph Smith, taken on the 8th of February, and in the evidence of the said Mr. Smith and Mr. Robert Peele*, taken on the 24th of February, as far as relates to printed and white cottons and calicoes; and in the evidence of Mr. John Hilton and Mr. William Frodsham, taken on the 22nd of February, as far as relates to fustians, their opinion on the advantages to be derived from the opening the trade between the two kingdoms in these manufactures, and on the duties proper to be imposed on their importation into such kingdom.

In the judgment of Messrs. Hilton and Frodsham, it is for the interest of this country that the duty on fustians imported into each kingdom should be as low as five per cent. It appears, however, from their evidence, that Great Britain would have a very advantageous trade in these articles even under a duty of ten per cent.; and in either case there is nothing to be apprehended from a competition with the French manufacturers in these articles. The duty on printed calicoes imported into this country should in the first place be made equal to the internal duty paid upon calicoes printed, that is, about ten per cent.; and if printed calicoes of the manufacture of France are subject to any internal duty in that kingdom, the principle of reciprocity requires that our printed calicoes imported into France should pay an equal duty.

In addition to the duty on printed calicoes before mentioned, it may be proper to propose that there should be a duty of from 2*l.* 10*s.* to 5*l.* per cent. upon these articles imported into each kingdom. To prevent the importation of printed East India calicoes, the plan proposed by Mr. Peele in his evidence given the 24th of February, or some other equally secure, should be adopted. There is so great a variety of cotton manufactures, that the arranging the duty to be imposed upon each will be a business of some difficulty, but after you have settled the general rate, proper instructions will be sent to enable you to apply the rate to the several goods, &c., and that you may know the names by which they are called in the language of the two countries, a paper of patterns is herewith sent, in which the French and English denomination is set opposite to each pattern.

In answer to what is proposed by M. de Rayneval with

* Father of the late Sir Robert Peel.

respect to silk manufactures, it is proper to observe that the prohibition in this kingdom on foreign silk manufactures is general. They are prohibited to be imported or sold, if they have been manufactured in any foreign country, except silk crapes, and tiffanies of the manufacture of Italy, upon which there is a very high duty.

This prohibition, therefore, except as far as relates to silk crapes and gauzes, is not amongst those which His Majesty, by his declaration, has consented to abolish; and you are fully apprised of the reasons which render it improper to make any concession that may affect this general prohibition, though there are silk manufactures in which Great Britain excels, and has, therefore, an advantage over the manufacturers of France, such as ribbons, silk hosiery and gauzes, and certain mixed goods.

As the prohibitions on silks imported from France is meant to continue, it cannot be expected that the French Government will admit the general importation of silk manufactures from this country. But as silk crapes and tiffanies will, under the exception before mentioned, be allowed to be imported from France, upon the same duties as those manufactured in Italy pay at present, it seems reasonable to expect that in return for this the gauzes of Great Britain should be admitted into France upon a reasonable duty; and as gauzes are not manufactured in France, or in any other country, in so much perfection as in Great Britain, and if prohibited will probably force their way through some illicit channel, the French Government may on these accounts, perhaps, be induced to agree to this proposal.

With respect to what M. de Rayneval calls *les glaces*, which we understand to be plate glass, whether used in looking-glasses or otherwise, inquiries are making into the state of that manufacture in this country, in order to know whether it is possible to settle any fixed duty under which they may be allowed to be imported into each kingdom; and as the Court of Versailles may, perhaps, wish that their finer sorts of porcelain should be admitted into this country under a reasonable duty, you will endeavour to obtain, in return for this, the admission of our pottery into France upon a low duty, and also to learn the sentiments of the French Minister upon this subject; and with respect to what M. de Rayneval calls *les modes*, as well as all other articles in which the commercial intercourse between the two countries may consist, it will be best to leave them under the general rule contained in His Majesty's declaration, viz.:—that they are to be subject

to no prohibition or duties, other than the like articles are subject to, being the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country. M. de Rayneval appears, in his *observations confidentielles*, to propose that every article of commercial intercourse should be made subject to a specific duty. In answer to this, you will urge that to enter into a minute discussion on the duties proper to be imposed on every one of these articles would be a very difficult, if not an endless labour, and from the nature of the Government of this country, and the state of its revenue, perhaps impracticable. It would, in effect, be forming a new book of rates; and if such a work could be accomplished, it would necessarily retard the business, and defeat the end the two Courts have in view of establishing as soon as possible a liberal and advantageous intercourse of commerce between the two kingdoms.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
CARMARTHEN.

Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between His Britannic Majesty and the Most Christian King, signed at Versailles the 26th of September, 1786.

His Britannic Majesty, and His Most Christian Majesty, being equally animated with the desire not only of consolidating the good harmony which actually subsists between them, but also of extending the happy effects thereof to their respective subjects, have thought that the most efficacious means for attaining those objects, conformably to the 18th article of the Treaty of Peace, signed the 6th of September, 1783, would be to adopt a system of commerce on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience, which by discontinuing the prohibitions and prohibitory duties which have existed for almost a century between the two nations, might procure the most solid advantages on both sides, to the national productions and industry, and put an end to contraband trade, no less injurious to the public revenue than to that lawful commerce which is alone entitled to protection; for this end, their said Majesties have named for their commissaries and plenipotentiaries—To wit, the King of Great Britain, William Eden, Esq., privy-councillor in Great Britain and Ireland, member of the British Parliament, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to His Most Christian Majesty; and the Most Christian

King, the Sieur Joseph Mathias Gérard de Rayneval, knight, counsellor of state, knight of the royal order of Charles III., who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles: —

Article 1. — It is agreed and concluded between the most serene and most potent King of Great Britain, and the most serene and most potent the most Christian King, that there shall be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the subjects of each party in all and every the kingdoms, states, provinces, and territories subject to their Majesties, in Europe, for all and singular kinds of goods, in those places, upon the conditions, and in such manner and form as is settled and adjusted in the following articles: —

Article 2. — For the future security of commerce and friendship between the subjects of their said Majesties, and to the end that this good correspondence may be preserved from all interruption and disturbance, it is concluded and agreed, that if at any time there should arise any misunderstanding, breach of friendship, or rupture between the crowns of their Majesties, which God forbid! (which rupture shall not be deemed to exist until the recalling or sending home of the respective ambassadors and ministers) the subjects of each of the two parties residing in the dominions of the other shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade therein, without any manner of disturbance, so long as they behave peaceably, and commit no offence against the laws and ordinances; and in case their conduct should render them suspected, and the respective Governments should be obliged to order them to remove, the term of twelve months shall be allowed them for that purpose, in order that they may remove with their effects and property, whether entrusted to individuals or to the state; at the same time, it is to be understood that this favour is not to be extended to those who shall act contrary to the established laws.

Article 3. — It is likewise agreed and concluded, that the subjects and inhabitants of the kingdoms, provinces, and dominions of their Majesties, shall exercise no acts of hostility or violence against each other, either by sea or by land, or in rivers, streams, ports, or havens, under any colour or pretence whatsoever; so that the subjects of either party shall receive no patent, commission, or instruction for arming and acting at sea as privateers, nor letters of reprisal, as they are called,

from any princes or states enemies to the other party; nor by virtue or under colour of such patents, commissions, or reprisals, shall they disturb, infest, or any way prejudice or damage the aforesaid subjects and inhabitants of the King of Great Britain, or of the Most Christian King; neither shall they arm ships in such manner as is above said, or go out to sea therewith, to which end, as often as it is required by either party, strict and express prohibitions shall be renewed and published in all the territories, countries, and dominions of each party wheresoever, that no one shall in any wise use such commissions or letters of reprisal, under the severest punishment that can be inflicted on the transgressors, besides being liable to make full restitution and satisfaction to those to whom they have done any damage; neither shall any letters of reprisal be hereafter granted by either of the said high contracting parties, to the prejudice or detriment of the subjects of the other, except only in such case wherein justice is denied or delayed; which denial or delay of justice shall not be regarded as verified, unless the petitions of the person who desires the said letters of reprisal be communicated to the minister residing there on the part of the prince against whose subjects they are not to be granted, that within the space of four months, or sooner, if it be possible, he may manifest the contrary or procure the satisfaction which may be justly due.

Article 4.—The subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of the two sovereigns shall have liberty, freely and securely, without licence or passport, general or special, by land or by sea, or any other way, to enter into the kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, islands, cities, villages, towns, walled or unwalled, fortified or unfortified, ports or territories whatsoever, of either sovereign, situated in Europe, and to return from thence, to remain there, or to pass through the same, and therein to buy and purchase, as they please, all things necessary for their subsistence and use, and they shall mutually be treated with all kindness and favour. Provided, however, that in all these matters they behave and conduct themselves conformably to the laws and statutes, and live with each other in a friendly and peaceable manner, and promote a reciprocal concord by maintaining a mutual and good understanding.

Article 5.—The subjects of each of their said Majesties may have leave and licence to come with their ships; as also with the merchandizes and goods on board the same, the

trade and importation whereof are not prohibited by the laws of either kingdom, and to enter into the countries, dominions, cities, ports, places, and rivers of either party, situated in Europe, to resort thereto, and to remain and reside there, without any limitation of time; also to hire houses, or to lodge with other persons, and to buy all lawful kinds of merchandizes where they think fit, either from the first maker or the seller, or in any other manner, whether in the public market for the sale of merchandizes, or in fairs, or wherever such merchandizes are manufactured or sold. They may likewise deposit and keep in their magazines and warehouses the merchandizes brought from other parts, and afterwards expose the same to sale, without being in any wise obliged, unless willingly and of their own accord, to bring the said merchandizes to the marts and fairs; neither are they to be burthened with any impositions or duties on account of the said freedom of trade, or for any other cause whatsoever, except those which are to be paid for their ships and merchandizes, conformably to the regulations of the present Treaty, or those to which the subjects of the two contracting parties shall themselves be liable. And they shall have free leave to remove themselves, as also their wives, children, and servants, together with their merchandizes, property, goods, or effects, whether bought or imported, wherever they shall think fit, out of either kingdom, by land and by sea, on the rivers and fresh waters, after discharging the usual duties; any law, privilege, grant, immunities, or customs, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. In matters of religion, the subjects of the two crowns shall enjoy perfect liberty. They shall not be compelled to attend divine service, whether in the churches or elsewhere; but, on the contrary, they shall be permitted, without any molestation, to perform the exercises of their religion privately in their own houses, and in their own way. Liberty shall not be refused to bury the subjects of either kingdom who die in the territories of the other, in convenient places to be appointed for that purpose; nor shall the funerals or sepulchres of the deceased be in any wise disturbed. The laws and statutes of each kingdom shall remain in full force and vigour, and shall be duly put in execution, whether they relate to commerce and navigation, or to any other right; those cases only excepted, concerning which it is otherwise determined in the articles of this present Treaty.

Article 6. — The two high contracting parties have thought proper to settle the duties on certain goods and mer-

chandizes, in order to fix invariably the footing on which the trade therein shall be established between the two nations. In consequence of which they have agreed upon the following tariff, viz.

1st. The wines of France, imported directly from France into Great Britain, shall in no case pay any higher duties than those which the wines of Portugal now pay.

The wines of France, imported directly from France into Ireland, shall pay no higher duties than those which they now pay.

2nd. The vinegars of France, instead of sixty-seven pounds five shillings and threepence and twelve twentieths of a penny sterling, per ton, which they now pay, shall for the future pay, in Great Britain, only seven shillings sterling per gallon, making four quarts English measure.

3rd. Oil of olives, coming directly from France, shall for the future pay no higher duties than are now paid for the same from the most favoured nations.

4th. Beer shall pay reciprocally a duty of thirty per cent. ad valorem.

5th. The duties on hardware, cutlery, cabinet ware, and turnery, and also all works, both heavy and light, of iron, steel, copper, and brass, shall be classed; and the highest duty shall not exceed ten per cent. ad valorem.

6th. All sorts of cottons manufactured in the dominions of the two sovereigns in Europe, and also woollens, whether knit or wove, including hosiery, shall pay, in both countries, an import duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem; all manufactures of cotton or wool, mixed with silk, excepted, which shall remain prohibited on both sides.

7th. Cambrics and lawns shall pay, in both countries, an import duty of five shillings, or six livres Tournois, per demi piece of seven yards and three quarters English measure; and linens, made of flax or hemp, manufactured in the dominions of the two sovereigns in Europe, shall pay no higher duties, either in Great Britain or France, than linens manufactured in Holland or Flanders, imported into Great Britain, now pay.

And linen made of flax or hemp, manufactured in Ireland or France, shall reciprocally pay no higher duties

than linens manufactured in Holland, imported into Ireland, now pay.

8th. Sadlery shall reciprocally pay an import duty of fifteen per cent. ad valorem.

9th. Gauzes of all sorts shall reciprocally pay ten per cent. ad valorem.

10th. Millinery made up of muslin, lawn, cambric, or gauze of every kind, or of any other article admitted under the present tariff, shall pay reciprocally a duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem; and if any articles shall be used therein which are not specified in the tariff, they shall pay no higher duties than those paid for the same articles by the most favoured nations.

11th. Porcelain, earthenware, and pottery, shall pay reciprocally twelve per cent. ad valorem.

12th. Plate-glass and glass ware in general shall be admitted, on each side, paying a duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem.

His Britannic Majesty reserves the right of countervailing, by additional duties on the undermentioned merchandizes, the internal duties actually imposed upon the manufactures, or the import duties which are charged on the raw materials; namely, on all linens or cottons, stained or printed, on beer, glass ware, plate-glass, and iron.

And his Most Christian Majesty also reserves the right of doing the same, with regard to the following merchandizes; namely, cottons, iron, and beer.

And for the better securing the due collection of the duties payable ad valorem, which are specified in the above tariff, the said contracting parties will concert with each other as well the form of the declarations to be made, as also the proper means of preventing fraud with respect to the real value of the said goods and merchandizes.

But if it shall hereafter appear that any mistakes have inadvertently been made in the above tariff, contrary to the principles on which it is founded, the two sovereigns will concert with good faith upon the means of rectifying them.

Article 7. — The duties above specified are not to be altered but by mutual consent; and the merchandizes not above specified shall pay, in the dominions of the two so-

vereigns, the import and export duties payable in each of the said dominions by the most favoured European nations, at the time the present Treaty bears date; and the ships belonging to the subjects of the said dominions shall also respectively enjoy therein all the privileges and advantages which are granted to those of the most favoured European nations.

And it being the intention of the two high contracting parties that their respective subjects should be in the dominions of each other upon a footing as advantageous as those of other European nations, they agree, that in case they shall hereafter grant any additional advantages in navigation or trade to any other European nations, they will reciprocally allow their said subjects to participate therein; without prejudice, however, to the advantages which they reserve, viz., France in favour of Spain, in consequence of the 24th article of the Family Compact, signed the 10th of May, 1761, and England according to what she has practised in conformity to, and in consequence of, the convention of 1703, between England and Portugal.

And to the end that every person may know with certainty the state of the aforesaid imposts, customs, import and export duties, whatever they may be, it is agreed that tariffs indicating the imposts, customs, and established duties shall be affixed in public places, as well in Rouen and the other trading cities of France, as in London and the other trading cities undter the dominion of the King of Great Britain, that recourse may be had to them whenever any difference shall arise concerning such imposts, customs, and duties, which shall not be levied otherwise than in conformity to what is clearly expressed in the said tariffs, and according to their natural construction. And if any officer, or other person in his name, shall, under any pretence, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, demand or take of a merchant, or of any other person, any sum of money, or anything else, on account of duties, impost, search, or compensation, although it be under the name of a free gift, or under any other pretence, more or otherwise than what is above prescribed; in such case the said officer, or his deputy, if he be accused and convicted of the same before a competent judge, in the place where the crime was committed, shall give full satisfaction to the injured party, and shall likewise suffer the penalty prescribed by the laws.

Article 8.—No merchandize exported from the countries respectively under the dominion of their majesties shall here-

after be subject to be inspected or confiscated under any pretence of fraud, or defect in making or working them, or of any other imperfection whatsoever; but absolute freedom shall be allowed to the buyer and seller to bargain and fix the price for the same, as they shall see good; any law, statute, edict, proclamation, privilege, grant, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Article 9.—Whereas several kinds of merchandizes, which are usually contained in casks, chests, or other cases, and for which the duties are paid by weight, will be exported from and imported into France by British subjects; it is agreed that in such case the aforesaid duties shall be demanded only according to the real weight of the merchandizes; and the weight of the casks, chests, and other cases whatever, shall be deducted in the same manner as has been, and is now practised in England.

Article 10.—It is further agreed that if any mistake or error shall be committed by any master of a ship, his interpreter or factor, or by any other employed by him in making the entry or declaration of her cargo, neither the ship nor the cargo shall be subject for such defect to confiscation; but it shall be lawful for proprietors to take back again such goods as were omitted in the entry or declaration of the master of the ship, paying only the accustomed duties according to the placard, provided always that there be no manifest appearance of fraud; neither shall the merchants or the masters of ships, or the merchandize, be subject to any penalty by reason of such omission, in case the goods omitted in the declaration shall not have been landed before the declaration has been made.

Article 11.—In case either of the two high contracting parties shall think proper to establish prohibitions, or to augment the import duties upon any goods or merchandize of the growth or manufacture of the other, which are not specified in the tariff, such prohibitions or augmentations shall be general, and shall comprehend the like goods and merchandizes of the other most favoured European nations, as well as those of either state; and in case either of the two contracting parties shall revoke the prohibitions, or diminish the duties in favour of any other European nation, upon any goods or merchandize of its growth or manufacture, whether an importation or exportation, such revocations or diminutions shall be extended to the subjects of the other party, on con-

dition that the latter shall grant to the subjects of the former the importation and exportation of the like goods and merchandizes under the same duties; the cases reserved in the 7th article of the present Treaty always excepted.

Article 12.—And forasmuch as a certain usage, not authorized by any law, has formerly obtained in divers parts of Great Britain and France, by which French subjects have paid in England a kind of capitation tax, called in the language of that country head money, and English subjects a like duty in France, called argent du chef, it is agreed that the said impost shall not be demanded for the future on either side, neither under the ancient name, nor under any other name whatsoever.

Article 13.—If either of the high contracting parties has granted, or shall grant any bounties for encouraging the exportation of any articles, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of his dominions, the other party shall be allowed to add to the duties already imposed by virtue of the present Treaty, on the said goods and merchandizes imported into his dominions, such an import duty as shall be equivalent to the said bounty. But this stipulation is not to extend to the cases of restitutions of duties and imposts (called drawbacks), which are allowed upon exportation.

Article 14.—The advantages granted by the present Treaty to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall take effect, as far as relates to the kingdom of Great Britain, as soon as laws shall be passed there for securing to the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty the reciprocal enjoyment of the advantages which are granted to them by the present Treaty.

And the advantages granted by all these articles, except the tariff, shall take effect, with regard to the kingdom of Ireland, as soon as laws shall be passed there for securing to the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty the reciprocal enjoyment of the advantages which are granted to them by this Treaty; and in like manner the advantages granted by the tariff shall take effect in what relates to the said kingdom, as soon as laws shall be passed there for giving effect to the said tariff.

Article 15.—It is agreed that ships belonging to His Britannic Majesty's subjects, arriving in the dominions of his Most Christian Majesty, from the ports of Great Britain or

Ireland, or from any other foreign port, shall not pay freight duty or any other like duty. In the same manner, French ships shall be exempted in the dominions of His Britannic Majesty from the duty of five shillings, and from every other similar duty or charge.

Article 16.—It shall not be lawful for any foreign privateers, not being subjects of either crown, who have commissions from any other prince or state in enmity with either nation, to arm their ships in the ports of either of the said two kingdoms, to sell what they have taken, or in any other manner whatever to exchange the same; neither shall they be allowed even to purchase victuals, except such as shall be necessary for their going to the nearest port of that prince from whom they have obtained commissions.

Article 17.—When any dispute shall arise between any commander of a ship and his seamen in the ports of either kingdom concerning wages due to the said seamen, or other civil causes whatever, the magistrate of the place shall require no more from the person accused, than that he give to the accuser a declaration in writing, witnessed by the magistrate, whereby he shall be bound to answer that matter before a competent judge in his own country; which being done, it shall not be lawful for the seamen to desert their ship, or to hinder the commander from prosecuting his voyage. It shall, moreover, be lawful for the merchants in the places of their abode, or elsewhere, to keep books of their accounts and affairs, as they shall see fit, and to have an intercourse of letters, in such language or idiom as they shall choose, without any molestation or search whatsoever. But if it should happen to be necessary for them to produce their books of accounts for deciding any dispute or controversy, in such case they shall be obliged to bring into court the entire books or writings, but so as the judge may not have liberty to take cognizance of any other articles in the said books than such as shall relate to the affair in question, or such as shall be necessary to give credit to the said books; neither shall it be lawful, under any pretence, to take the said books or writings forcibly out of the hands of the owners, or to retain them, in case of bankruptcy only excepted. Nor shall the subjects of the King of Great Britain be obliged to write their accounts, letters, or other instruments relating to trade, on stamped paper, except their day-book, which, that it may be produced as evidence in any law-suit, ought, according to the laws

which all persons trading in France are to observe, to be indorsed and attested gratis by the judge under his own hand.

Article 18.—It is further agreed and concluded that all merchants, commanders of ships, and others, the subjects of the King of Great Britain, in all the dominions of his Most Christian Majesty in Europe, shall have full liberty to manage their own affairs themselves, or to commit them to the management of whomsoever they please; nor shall they be obliged to employ any interpreter or broker, nor pay them any salary, unless they shall choose to employ them. Moreover, masters of ships shall not be obliged, in loading or unloading their ships, to make use of those persons who may be appointed by public authority for that purpose, either at Bordeaux or elsewhere; but it shall be entirely free for them to load or unload their ships by themselves, or to make use of such person or persons in loading or unloading the same, as they shall think fit, without the payment of any reward to any other whomsoever; neither shall they be forced to unload into other ships, or to receive into their own, any merchandize whatever, or to wait for their landing any longer than they please. And all the subjects of the Most Christian King shall reciprocally have and enjoy the same privileges and liberties in all the dominions of his Britannic Majesty in Europe.

Article 19.—The ships of either party being laden, sailing along the coasts of the other, and being forced by storm into the havens or ports, or making land there in any other manner whatever, shall not be obliged to unlade their goods, or any part thereof, or to pay any duty, unless they, of their own accord, unlade their goods there, and sell some part thereof. But it shall be lawful, permission having been first obtained from those who have the direction of maritime affairs, to unlade and sell a small part of their cargo, merely for the end of purchasing necessaries, either for victualling or refitting the ship; and in that case the whole lading shall not be subject to pay the duties, but that small part only which shall have been taken out and sold.

Article 20.—It shall be lawful for all the subjects of the King of Great Britain, and of the Most Christian King, to sail with their ships with perfect security and liberty, no distinction being made who are the proprietors of the merchandizes laden thereon, from any part whatever, to the countries which are now, or shall be hereafter at war with

the King of Great Britain, or the Most Christian King. It shall likewise be lawful for the aforesaid subjects to sail and traffic with their ships and merchandizes, with the same liberty and security, from the countries, ports, and places of those who are enemies of both, or of either party, without any opposition or disturbance whatsoever, and to pass directly not only from the places of the enemy aforementioned to neutral places, but also from one place belonging to an enemy to another place belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the jurisdiction of the same or of several princes. And as it has been stipulated concerning ships and goods that everything shall be deemed free which shall be found on board the ships belonging to the subjects of the respective kingdoms, although the whole lading, or part thereof, should belong to the enemies of their Majesties, contraband goods being always excepted, on the stopping of which such proceedings shall be had as are conformable to the spirit of the following articles; it is likewise agreed, that the same liberty be extended to persons who are on board a free ship, to the end that although they be enemies to both, or to either party, they may not be taken out of such free ships, unless they are soldiers actually in the service of the enemies, and on their voyage for the purpose of being employed in a military capacity in their fleets or armies.

Article 21. — This liberty of navigation and commerce shall extend to all kinds of merchandizes, excepting those only which are specified in the following Article, and which are described under the name of contraband.

Article 22. — Under this name of contraband, or prohibited goods, shall be comprehended arms, cannon, harquebusses, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, saucisses, carcasses, bandoleers, gunpowder, match, saltpetre, ball, pikes, swords, head-pieces, helmets, cutlasses, halberds, javelins, holsters, belts, horses, and harness, and all other like kinds of arms and warlike implements fit for the use of troops.

Article 23. — These merchandizes which follow shall not be reckoned among contraband goods; that is to say, all sorts of cloth, and all other manufactures of wool, flax, silk, cotton, or any other materials; all kinds of wearing apparel, together with the articles of which they are usually made; gold, silver, coined or uncoined, tin, iron, lead, copper, brass, coals, as also wheat and barley, and any other kind of corn and pulse; tobacco, and all other kinds of spices; salted and

smoked flesh, salted fish, cheese and butter; beer, oil, wines, sugar, all sorts of salt, and of provisions which serve for sustenance and food to mankind; also all kinds of cotton, cordage, cables, sails, sail-cloth, hemp, tallow, pitch, tar, and rosin; anchors and any parts of anchors, ship-masts, planks, timber of all kinds of trees, and all other things proper either for building or repairing ships; nor shall any other goods whatever, which have not been worked into the form of any instrument, or furniture for warlike use, by land or by sea, be reputed contraband, much less such as have been already wrought and made up for any other purpose; all which things shall be deemed goods not contraband, as likewise all others which are not comprehended and particularly described in the preceding Article, so that they may be freely carried by the subjects of both kingdoms, even to places belonging to an enemy, excepting only such places as are besieged, blocked up, or invested.

Article 24. — To the end that all manner of dissensions and quarrels may be avoided and prevented on both sides, it is agreed, that in case either of their Majesties should be engaged in a war, the ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of the other shall be furnished with sea-letters or passports, expressing the name, property, and bulk of the ship, as also the name and place of abode of the master or commander of the said ship, that it may appear thereby that the ship really and truly belongs to the subjects of one of the princes; which passports shall be made out and granted according to the form annexed to the present Treaty; they shall likewise be renewed every year, if the ship happens to return home within the space of a year. It is also agreed that such ships when laden are to be provided not only with passports as above mentioned, but also with certificates containing the several particulars of the cargo, the place from whence the ship sailed and whither she is bound, so that it may be known whether she carries any of the prohibited or contraband goods specified in the 22nd Article of this Treaty; which certificates shall be prepared by the officers of the place from whence the ship set sail, in the accustomed form, and if any one shall think fit to express in the said certificates the persons to whom the goods belong, he may freely do so.

Article 25. — The ships belonging to the subjects and inhabitants of the respective kingdoms, coming to any of the coasts of either of them, but without being willing to enter

into port, or being entered, yet not willing to land their cargoes, or break bulk, shall not be obliged to give an account of their lading, unless they are suspected, upon sure evidence, of carrying prohibited goods called contraband, to the enemies of either of the two high contracting parties.

Article 26.—In case the ships belonging to the said subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of their Most Serene Majesties, either on the coast or on the high seas, shall meet with any men-of-war belonging to their Most Serene Majesties, or with privateers, the said men-of-war and privateers, for preventing any inconveniences, are to remain out of cannon-shot, and to send their boats to the merchant ship which may be met with, and shall enter her to the number of two or three men only, to whom the master or commander of such ship or vessel shall show his passport, containing the proof of the property of the ship, made out according to the form annexed to this present Treaty; and the ship which shall have exhibited the same shall have liberty to continue her voyage, and it shall be wholly unlawful any way to molest or search her, or to chase or compel her to alter her course.

Article 27. — The merchant ships belonging to the subjects of either of the two high contracting parties which intend to go to a port at enmity with the other sovereign, concerning whose voyage and the sort of goods on board there may be just cause of suspicion, shall be obliged to exhibit, as well on the high seas as in the ports and havens, not only her passports, but also her certificates, expressing that the goods are not of the kind which are contraband, as specified in the 22nd Article of this Treaty.

Article 28. — If, on exhibiting the above-mentioned certificates, containing a list of the cargo, the other party should discover any goods of that kind which are declared contraband or prohibited by the 22nd Article of this Treaty, and which are designed for a port subject to his enemies, it shall be unlawful to break up or open the hatches, chests, casks, bales, or other vessels found on board such ship, or to remove even the smallest parcel of the goods, whether the said ship belongs to the subjects of the King of Great Britain, or of the Most Christian King, unless the lading be brought on shore in the presence of the officers of the Court of Admiralty, and an inventory made by them of the said goods; nor shall it be lawful to sell, exchange, or alienate the same in any

manner, unless after due and lawful process shall have been had against such prohibited goods, and the judges of the Admiralty respectively shall, by sentence pronounced, have confiscated the same; saving always as well the ship itself as the other goods found therein, which by this Treaty are to be accounted free; neither may they be detained on pretence of being mixed with prohibited goods, much less shall they be confiscated as lawful prize: and if, when only part of the cargo shall consist of contraband goods, the master of the ship shall agree, consent, and offer to deliver them to the captor who has discovered them, in such case the captor having received those goods as lawful prize, shall forthwith release the ship, and not hinder her, by any means, from prosecuting her voyage to the place of her destination.

Article 29.—On the contrary, it is agreed, that whatever shall be found to be laden by the subjects and inhabitants of either party, on any ships belonging to the enemies of the other, although it be not contraband goods, shall be confiscated in the same manner as if it belonged to the enemy himself; except those goods and merchandizes which were put on board such ship before the declaration of war, or the general order for reprisals, or even after such declaration if it were done within the times following; that is to say, if they were put on board such ship in any port or place, within the space of two months after such declaration or order of reprisals, between Archangel, St. Petersburg, and the Scilly Islands, and between the said islands and the city of Gibraltar; of ten weeks in the Mediterranean Sea; and of eight months in any other country or place in the world, so that the goods of the subjects of either prince, whether they be contraband or otherwise, which, as aforesaid, were put on board any ship belonging to an enemy before the war, or after the declaration of the same within the time and limits above-mentioned, shall noways be liable to confiscation, but shall well and truly be restored, without delay, to the proprietors demanding the same; provided, nevertheless, that if the said merchandizes be contraband, it shall not be anyways lawful to carry them afterwards to the ports belonging to the enemy.

Article 30.—And that more abundant care may be taken for the security of the respective subjects of their Most Serene Majesties, to prevent their suffering any injury by the men-of-war or privateers of either party, all the commanders of the ships of the King of Great Britain, and of the Most

Christian King, and all their subjects, shall be forbid doing any damage to those of the other party, or committing any outrage against them; and if they act to the contrary they shall be punished, and shall moreover be bound, in their persons and estates, to make satisfaction and reparation for all damages, and the interest thereof, of what nature soever.

Article 31.—For this cause, all commanders of privateers, before they receive their patents or special commissions, shall hereafter be obliged to give, before a competent judge, sufficient security by good bail, who are responsible men, and have no interest in the said ship, each of whom shall be bound in the whole for the sum of thirty-six thousand livres Tournois, or fifteen hundred pounds sterling; or if such ship be provided with above one hundred and fifty seamen or soldiers, for the sum of seventy-two thousand livres Tournois, or three thousand pounds sterling, that they will make entire satisfaction for all damages and injuries whatsoever, which they or their officers, or others in their service, may commit during their cruise, contrary to the tenor of this present Treaty, or the edicts made in consequence thereof by their Most Serene Majesties, under penalty likewise of having their patents and special commissions revoked and annulled.

Article 32.—Their said Majesties being willing mutually to treat in their dominions the subjects of each other as favourably as if they were their own subjects, will give such orders as shall be necessary and effectual, that the judgments and decrees concerning prizes in the Courts of Admiralty be given conformably to the rules of justice and equity, and to the stipulations of this Treaty, by judges who are above all suspicion, and who have no manner of interest in the cause in dispute.

Article 33.—And when the quality of the ship, goods, and master, shall sufficiently appear, from such passports and certificates, it shall not be lawful for the commanders of men-of-war to exact any further proof under any pretext whatsoever; but if any merchant ship shall not be provided with such passports or certificates, then it may be examined by a proper judge, but in such manner as, if it shall be found, from other proofs and documents, that it truly belongs to the subjects of one of the sovereigns, and does not contain any contraband goods, designed to be carried to the enemy

of the other, it shall not be liable to confiscation, but shall be released, together with its cargo, in order to proceed on its voyage.

If the master of the ship named in the passports should happen to die, or be removed by any other cause, and another put in his place, the ship and goods laden thereon shall nevertheless be equally secure, and the passports shall remain in full force.

Article 34.—It is further provided and agreed, that the ships of either of the two, retaken by the privateers of the other, shall be restored to the former owner, if they have not been in the power of the enemy for the space of four-and-twenty hours, subject to the payment, by the said owner, of one-third of the value of the ship retaken, and of its cargo, guns, and apparel, which third part shall be amicably adjusted by the parties concerned; but if not, and in case they should disagree, they shall make application to the officers of the Admiralty of the place where the privateer which retook the captured vessel shall have carried her. If the ship retaken has been in the power of the enemy above four-and-twenty hours, it shall wholly belong to the privateer which retook her. In case of a ship being retaken by any man-of-war belonging to his Britannic Majesty, or to his Most Christian Majesty, it shall be restored to the former owner, on payment of the thirtieth part of the value of such ship, and of its cargo, guns, and apparel, if it was retaken within the four-and-twenty hours, and the tenth part if it was retaken after the four-and-twenty hours; which sums shall be distributed as a reward amongst the crews of the ships which have retaken such prize. The valuation of the thirtieth and tenth parts above-mentioned shall be settled conformably to the regulations in the beginning of this Article.

Article 35.—Whensoever the ambassadors of either of their said Majesties, or other their ministers having a public character, and residing at the court of the other prince, shall complain of the injustice of the sentences which have been given, their Majesties shall respectively cause the same to be revised and re-examined in their councils, unless their councils should already have decided thereupon, that it may appear with certainty, whether the directions and provisions prescribed in this Treaty have been followed and observed. Their Majesties shall likewise take care that this matter be effectually provided for, and that justice be done to every

complainant within the space of three months. However, before or after judgment given, and pending the revision thereof, it shall not be lawful to sell the goods in dispute, or to unlade them, unless with the consent of the persons concerned, for preventing any kind of loss, and laws shall be enacted on both sides for the execution of the present Article.

Article 36.—If any differences shall arise respecting the legality of prizes, so that a judicial decision should become necessary, the judge shall direct the effects to be unladen, an inventory and appraisement to be made thereof, and security to be required respectively from the captor for paying the costs, in case the ship should not be declared lawful prize, and from the claimant for paying the value of the prize, in case it should be declared lawful, which securities being given by both parties, the prize shall be delivered up to the claimant. But if the claimant should refuse to give sufficient security, the judge shall direct the prize to be delivered to the captor, after having received from him good and sufficient security for paying the full value of the said prize, in case it should be adjudged illegal. Nor shall the execution of the sentence of the judge be suspended by reason of any appeal, when the party against whom such appeal shall be brought, whether claimant or captor, shall have given sufficient security for restoring the ship or effects, or the value of such ship or effects, to the appellant, in case judgment should be given in his favour.

Article 37.—In case any ships of war or merchantmen, forced by storms or other accidents, be driven on rocks or shelves on the coasts of either of the high contracting parties, and should there be dashed to pieces and shipwrecked, all such parts of the said ships, or of the furniture or apparel thereof, as also of the goods and merchandizes as shall be saved, or the produce thereof, shall be faithfully restored, upon the same being claimed by the proprietors, or their factors, duly authorized, paying only the expenses incurred in the preservation thereof, according to the rate of salvage settled on both sides, saving at the same time the rights and customs of each nation, the abolition or modification of which shall, however, be treated upon, in cases where they shall be contrary to the stipulations of the present Article; and their Majesties will mutually interpose their authority that such of their subjects as shall be so inhuman as to take advantage of any such misfortune may be severely punished.

Article 38.—It shall be free for the subjects of each party to employ such advocates, attorneys, notaries, solicitors, and factors, as they shall think fit; to which end the said advocates and others above mentioned shall be appointed by the ordinary judges, if it be needful, and the judges be thereunto required.

Article 39.—And for the greater security and liberty of commerce and navigation, it is further agreed that both the King of Great Britain and the Most Christian King shall not only refuse to receive any pirates or sea-rovers whatsoever into any of their havens, ports, cities, or towns, or permit any of their subjects, citizens, or inhabitants on either part, to receive or protect them in their ports, to harbour them in their houses, or to assist them in any manner whatsoever: but further, they shall cause all such pirates and sea-rovers, and all persons who shall receive, conceal, or assist them, to be brought to condign punishment, for a terror and example to others. And all their ships, with the goods or merchandizes taken by them, and brought into the ports of either kingdom, shall be seized, as far as they can be discovered, and shall be restored to the owners, or their factors duly authorised or deputed by them in writing, proper evidence being first given in the Court of Admiralty for proving the property, even in case such effects should have passed into other hands by sale, if it be proved that the buyers knew, or might have known, that they had been piratically taken. And generally all ships and merchandizes, of what nature soever, which may be taken on the high seas, shall be brought into some port of either kingdom, and delivered into the custody of the officers of that port, that they may be restored entire to the true proprietor, as soon as due and sufficient proof shall have been made concerning the property thereof.

Article 40.—It shall be lawful, as well for the ships of war of their Majesties, as for privateers belonging to their subjects, to carry whithersoever they please the ships and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any fee to the officers of the Admiralty, or to any judges whatever. Nor shall the said prizes, when they arrive at and enter the ports of their said Majesties, be detained or seized; neither shall the searchers, or other officers of those places, visit or take cognizance of the validity of such prizes; but they shall be at liberty to hoist sail at any time to depart, and to carry their prizes to the place mentioned in the com-

missions or patents, which the commanders of such ships of war shall be obliged to show; on the contrary, no shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports to such as have made prize upon the subjects of either of their Majesties; but if forced by stress of weather, or the dangers of the sea, to enter therein, particular care shall be taken to hasten their departure, and to cause them to retire from thence as soon as possible, as far as it is not repugnant to former treaties made in this respect with other sovereigns or states.

Article 41.—Neither of their said Majesties shall permit the ships or goods belonging to the subjects of the other to be taken within cannon-shot of the coast, or in the ports or rivers of their dominions, by ships of war, or others having commission from any prince, republic, or city whatsoever; but in case it should so happen, both parties shall employ their united force to obtain reparation of the damage thereby occasioned.

Article 42.—But if it shall appear that the captor made use of any kind of torture upon the master of the ship, the crew, or others who shall be on board any ship belonging to the subjects of the other party, in such case not only the ship itself, together with the persons, merchandizes, and goods whatsoever, shall be forthwith released, without any delay, and set entirely free, but also such as shall be convicted of so enormous a crime, together with their accomplices, shall suffer the most severe punishment suitable to their offences; this the King of Great Britain and the Most Christian King mutually engage shall be observed, without any respect of persons whatsoever.

Article 43.—Their Majesties shall respectively be at liberty, for the advantage of their subjects trading to the kingdoms and dominions of either of them, to appoint therein national consuls, who shall enjoy the right, immunity, and liberty belonging to them, by reason of their duties and their functions; and places shall hereafter be agreed upon where the said consuls shall be established, as well as the nature and extent of their functions. The convention relative to this point shall be concluded immediately after the signature of the present Treaty, of which it shall be deemed to constitute a part.

Article 44.—It is also agreed, that in whatever relates to the lading and unlading of ships, the safety of merchandize,

goods, and effects, the succession to personal estates, as also the administration of justice, the subjects of the two high contracting parties shall enjoy in their respective dominions the same privileges, liberties, and rights as the most favoured nation.'

Article 45.—If hereafter it shall happen, through inadvertency or otherwise, that any infractions or contraventions of the present Treaty should be committed on either side, the friendship and good understanding shall not immediately thereupon be interrupted, but this Treaty shall subsist in all its force, and proper remedies shall be procured for removing the inconveniences, as likewise for the reparation of the contraventions; and if the subjects of either kingdom shall be found guilty thereof, they shall be punished and severely chastised.

Article 46.—His Britannic Majesty and His Most Christian Majesty have reserved the right of revising and re-examining the several stipulations of this Treaty, after the term of twelve years, to be computed from the day of passing laws for its execution in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to propose and make such alterations as the times and circumstances may have rendered proper or necessary for the commercial interests of their respective subjects; and this revision is to be completed in the space of twelve months, after which term the present Treaty shall be of no effect, but in that event the good harmony and friendly correspondence between the two nations shall not suffer the least diminution.

Article 47.—The present Treaty shall be ratified and confirmed by His Britannic Majesty and by His Most Christian Majesty, in two months, or sooner if it can be done, after the exchange of signatures between the Plenipotentiaries.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned Commissaries and Plenipotentiaries of the King of Great Britain and the Most Christian King, have signed the present Treaty with our hands, and have set thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Versailles, the 26th of September, 1786.

WM. EDEN (L. S.)
GÉRARD DE RAYNEVAL (L. S.)

The following observations on the French Treaty seem to have been written by a Glasgow manufacturer:—

You ask what are my reasons for thinking so highly of Mr. Eden's Treaty. I have it not at hand, but I remember the following, among many other things, occurred to me upon reading it.

A general observation is, that it will stop all smuggling of the articles referred to in it, for none but a madman would run the risks of smuggling to save a duty of twelve per cent. In this country we know the extent of that risk to a fraction upon many articles, because there are persons here who ensure the smuggler in these articles.

Again, with regard to particulars, the four great articles of British manufactures are woollen, iron, pottery, and cotton. It seems strange infatuation in the French to allow woollens to be imported from a sheep country, and which, from the humidity and moderation of her climate and consequent richness of her pasture, must have the same exclusive possession of the long wool as long as the world lasts, which she has possessed for a thousand years past.

Strange that she should admit iron from the only country in the world which has iron-stone, iron-ore, coal, and lime (the four compounding parts of iron), often in the same field, and in the neighbourhood of the sea or of water carriage to the sea.

Strange that they should receive pottery from a country full of coal, and of the finest clays in the world next to China. The kitchen vessels and table service of France are either miserably bad or excessively dear. This single article will drain a nation, which spends almost all its money upon the pleasures of the table, of their money for ages to come.

Strange that they should receive cottons from a nation that has West India settlements. I was very intimate with old Holker at Rouen. The first time he showed me his works was in a forenoon, when he boasted much of the cheapness of wages; after dinner, when men are more open, he told me that though he had a pension of 12,000 livres, and many indulgences and exemptions from the French Government, that he could not make his cotton goods so cheap as he had done in England. I asked how his conversation after dinner agreed with his conversation before it. His answer was that they were very consistent; that he gave cheap wages but got little work; for that a French artisan lost his time in twenty little pleasures which an Englishman had no notion of, such

as dressing his hair a full half an hour every day, making love, walking with the women, dancing, sitting long at table, going to mass, chatting with his companions, &c. &c.; and he added that I would find every article in France (millinery goods alone excepted) dearer than in England. The observation struck me; and as I have lived much in France, and in different parts of it, I found the observation to be true. The price of cotton goods depends now a good deal upon machinery, where we have a solid superiority over the French from the cheapness of our coal, by which the steam-engine is directed, and which steam-engine has an hundred advantages over works conducted by wind or water.

This last observation ensures us in the superiority of woollen, for although Mr. Arkwright has as yet applied his machine only to cotton, yet there can be little doubt that it will be equally applied to woollen.

The articles to be imported from France that we are afraid of, are brandies, wines, cambrics, and millinery. With regard to wines and brandies, the powers of chemistry are running so rapid a progress, that France will not get the benefit there which she expects. There is a great distiller here called Stein, who, by taking a few phials out of his pocket, will turn a bottle of our whisky here in five minutes into rum, raki, or brandy, as you call for. With respect to cambrics, Mr. Holker's observation applies. I remember the time when cambrics were made cheaper at Glasgow than in France, and when everybody wore them, and the Glasgow people went out of the business only because printed linens at one time, and the gauzes and lawns at another time, and the cottons at the present time, are a more profitable article. Whenever these fail them, they will return to the cambrics again. I can tell you a curious anecdote which will show you the facility with which these transitions are made. Mr. John Cross had a great rope-work at Port Glasgow; he quarrelled with his men about wages, and about thirty of them left him; he did not mind it much at first, supposing they would come back again, but seeing nothing of them for some weeks, he inquired after them, and found they were all sitting on fine lawn looms at Paisley.

With regard to millinery, the French will ever possess it, as long as their gentlewomen amuse themselves with working in nunneries, instead of going about to speak ill of one another. But in a treaty you must give and take, otherwise no nation will stand to it.

The following was sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury to Mr. Eden, as the production of Lord George Gordon, who was a great opponent of the French alliance:—

FOR THE GENERAL ADVERTISER.

To the French Party in England.

Mr. Editor,—Whereas the French party in Holland have gained an astonishing ascendancy, which has ruined the English interest, and nearly overthrown that famous republic; and as the Court of France has made an alliance with Holland, to exclude the English, and the French Cabinet have also deprived Great Britain of her Colonies, and valuable trade to America; so Comte de Vergennes, to increase the glory of the *Grand Monarch*, and the disgrace of the English nation, has entered into a Treaty of Commerce with his good friend Mr. *Edon*, by which the English have kindly forgiven the French all the injuries they have done them in America, Holland, and the East Indies; and as a proof of their forgiveness, they agree to allow the French the liberty of knowing all the *secrets* of their manufactures, and what they are about in their *docks;* and the English agree to call the French the *Gens Amicissima*, and to take their wine, brandy, woollens, silk, lace, cambrics, and all the commodities of France, for which the French will take a *few* of the Birmingham wares, &c., and the balance of trade in large *remittances*, which will be of more use to France than English manufactures.

By this Treaty, so advantageous to France, the French will find a good market for their commodities, and *money* in return, to increase their public credit. And my country will also have the great pleasure to ruin the English woollen, silk, muslin, linen, and gauze manufactories, their home distillery and West India trade. These happy effects, directly and indirectly to France, will ruin the manufactures and trade of the English, and render this country an easy prey to the *Grand Monarch*, who has made a valuable present of tapestry of the Royal Gobelin manufacture to Mr. *Eden*, as a reward for being of so much service to the French nation.

The *French Party* in England, which increase every day, as in Holland, begin to look upon Mr. *Edon* as the best friend of France; and the Roman Catholic Clergy are desired to cause *Te Deum* to be sung in the chapels for so glorious an event, and to pray for Mr. *Edon*.

The *French Party* are likewise desired to thank their good friends, the several *doers* of the ministerial papers, who are ever praising the French Treaty, and sacrificing the interest and security of our country to the honour of the *Grand Monarch*. *Vive le Roi,* et Monsieur *Edon.*

FATHER ORBANS.

The following correspondence relates to the discussions between the French and English Governments with respect to Holland:—

The Duke of Dorset to Mr. Eden.

Paris, July 19, 1787.

Dear Eden,—I received both your letters last Monday, and the answer you have to communicate respecting the ribbon is waited for with much impatience: *my friends* are not a little piqued at this delay. I was told to-day *we still hope it will be satisfactory.* I mentioned the substance of what you wrote to me upon the subject *sans beaucoup de succès;* but, however, I will take care there shall be no serious ill-humour about it at this present moment. Montmorin and I go on very good-humouredly together: he told me (but this is in the greatest confidence) that Lord Carmarthen had told Barthelemi that my letter to him (in which I ask an answer to several delicate points) is to go for nothing. This I own piqued me not a little, as it is amazingly shabby to disown wishing to know what he has been desirous to be informed of for so many weeks past; and as my questions gave no offence, which appears by Montmorin's *first* answer to me, there was no occasion to go and betray both me and his fears to such a man as Barthelemi, who never fails making the most of everything he hears. His Lordship ought to be most exceedingly circumspect in his language to Barthelemi.

They think now here from this discovery that we are more afraid of a war than they are, and upon which we always had the upper hand till this disavowal of my letter; however, we must recover our ground if possible, but that we shall never be able to do as long as Barthelemi is Lord Carmarthen's confidential man. I know a good deal of him: if you recollect, he misrepresented me strangely last year about the Com-

mercial Treaty, which was false from beginning to end. Vergennes and Rayneval were both hurt to think I should have deceived them so much. Lord Carmarthen ought, if possible, to be spoken to about this, or else Mr. Pitt should take the business upon himself. A manly language ought to be held, and an open conduct pursued, or else we shall never get through the business either *creditably* or *peaceably*.

Our minister in Holland * is playing the devil; they are afraid here he may push matters to extremities, and advise the prince to some desperate measures. You know well enough what they think of him at Versailles. I have pressed in my letter to-day to have the earliest intelligence if any further armaments are intended. Montmorin told me on Tuesday we had ordered three more ships of the line to be in readiness, which I knew nothing of. A similar order is gone to Brest for nine ships, and if more are ordered I shall not be surprised, as they may think themselves justified in deceiving us if we deceive them. In short, nothing but *la franchise* will do at this moment: the ticklish situation of the Republic will not admit of delays and explanations: we shall be involved before we are aware of ourselves, and then repentance will come too late. D'Adhemar is in an awkward situation; if he were not so much *afraid of the sea*, I believe he would be tempted to return to his station. The Montmorins dined with me last Tuesday: Rayneval could not come; he went to see his *beautiful* wife. The Parliament continues to go on with the same violence, which creates much uneasiness to the Court and embarrassment to the minister: a *lit de justice* will not be held if possible to avoid it, but at no rate will les Etats-Généraux be allowed to assemble. My paper is at an end, which I believe you are not sorry for.

I am most truly and sincerely yours,

DORSET.

Mes complimens, s'il vous plaît, à Madame Eden.

The Duke of Dorset to Mr. Eden.

Paris, July 26th, 1787.

Dear Eden,—I should think M. de Montmorin's letter must have afforded satisfaction; he read it to me, as well as the King's declaration to the States on Tuesday, and he is to send me a copy of them to-day. You see they will not go

* Sir James Harris.

to war unless we force them, but they cannot in honour see the Stadtholder unconstitutionally give the law to the Republic because chance has given him the means of enforcing obedience. I shall expect to hear from Lord Carmarthen by the latter end of the week. If the mediation of Great Britain is required by the States-General in conjunction with that of France, there will perhaps be *un moment de repos*, which may give me the opportunity of returning to England, if only for a short time. Montmorin continues to express much dissatisfaction at *our minister's* conduct at the Hague: he thinks it was by his advice the Princess of Orange undertook her journey there, *as he knew* she would be stopped, which circumstances he hoped would have occasioned an insurrection, and at the same time would have highly exasperated the King of Prussia. He was right as to the latter conjecture, but *upon reflection*, matters in that quarter are *very pacific*. I cannot help thinking that if any arrangement could be made, and Sir James Harris properly provided for, that it would be a good exchange to send Fitzherbert in his place, who, I understand, is now coming here upon leave, and who I should think would not be very ambitious or desirous of returning to Petersburg. In that case Whitworth would be an excellent man to put in his place. No determination has as yet taken place respecting M. de Verdes; it lies between St. Priest and De la Luzerne: the archbishop is extremely desirous to employ the former. Another candidate is our friend O'Dunne, to whom I cannot help wishing very well to: if Rayneval could name a person, it would undoubtedly be him.

I have letters every day from English merchants who cannot get their goods entered, particularly *les cotons*. I have mentioned their situation to Montmorin and to Rayneval, and they have given me the strongest assurances that their grievances shall be redressed without loss of time, but our window friend is strongly of opinion the French Court does not mean to fulfil its engagements respecting the Treaty. I have *particularly* recommended to Rayneval Cabot's affair. I wish you and Mrs. Eden much pleasure with la princesse et sa suite; it is an ill wind blows nobody good. So far I am lucky in staying here; the sooner you come the better: I am curious to know the real situation of things, as I take for granted you must have had some very full conversations with Mr. Pitt.

The Queen and her friend, Madame de Polignac, go to Trianon next Wednesday for some days; *comme étranger*, I

cannot be of the party; I can only go there in a morning to see her. Le Duc de Polignac has resigned the Post-office, and it returns to the Baron d'Ogry as before. This *is an odd circumstance,* which I will explain to you when we meet. Your children are all well. I intend calling on them to-morrow.

I am most truly and sincerely yours,

DORSET.

The following is the letter in which M. de Montmorin announced his intention of opposing the interference of Prussia in Holland:—

Copie de la Lettre de M. le Comte de Montmorin à M. Barthélemy, en date de Versailles, le 13 *sept.,* 1784.

Les affaires de Hollande viennent de prendre inopinément, Monsieur, une tournure qui détruit l'espérance que nous avions qu'elles seroient bientôt conciliées. Je vais vous mettre au fait de ce qui vient de se passer, afin que vous puissiez en entretenir les ministres Anglais.

Vous savez, Monsieur, que Mme la Princesse de Nassau a été empêchée de poursuivre le voyage secret qu'elle se proposoit de faire à la Haye; que le Roi de Prusse, trompé par de faux rapports, s'est regardé comme personnellement offensé des obstacles que cette princesse a rencontrés, et qu'il en a demandé une satisfaction éclatante; que les Etats de Hollande ont donné une première réponse qui n'a servi qu'à augmenter le courroux de Sa Majesté Prussienne; que ce prince a insisté de nouveau sur une satisfaction, et qu'il a été sa gloire intéressée à ce que cette demande fût appuyée d'un corps de troupes.

Quoiqu'il fût démontré au Roi que l'aventure de Mme la Princesse de Nassau, quelque désagréable qu'elle fût, n'exigeoit pas tant d'intérêt et tant de démonstrations, cependant Sa Majesté n'a cessé de presser les Etats de Hollande d'apaiser le Roi de Prusse. Elle emploie tous les moyens en son pouvoir pour vaincre leur répugnance à cet égard, et elle a été jusqu'à leur suggérer la substance de la réponse à faire à Sa Majesté Prussienne.

Cette réponse, Monsieur, a été adoptée par la majorité des Etats de Hollande; elle a été remise à M. de Thulemeyer, telle que vous la trouverez, ci-jointe; mais ce ministre

l'avoit à peine reçue qu'il a adressé au Grand-pensionnaire les deux notes qui sont également ci-jointes.

Le contenu de ces deux pièces prouve évidemment, Monsieur, que le Roi de Prusse avoit pris d'avance son parti de ne pas se borner à la satisfaction qu'il exigeoit, et que son intention est d'influer par la présence de ses troupes sur les affaires intérieures de la province de Hollande. Mais, quel que puisse être le but secret du Roi de Prusse, on sentira sûrement à Londres que les Etats de Hollande ne sauroient souscrire aux conditions proposées par M. de Thulemeyer; que le roi, son maître, s'il eût eu des intentions conciliatoires, n'auroit pas donné des ordres anticipés à son ministre, et que les Hollandais ayant épuisé tout ce que l'honneur leur permettoit de faire, n'ont plus d'autre parti à prendre que celui d'employer les moyens qui dépendront d'eux pour rendre inefficaces les dispositions vraiment inconcevables de Sa Majesté Prussienne.

En vous entretenant avec les ministres Anglais, vous leur exprimerez tout le regret que cause au roi le nouvel ordre de choses, qui va amener la dernière note de M. de Thulemeyer; vous leur direz que Sa Majesté en est d'autant plus affectée qu'elle avoit fait tout ce qui lui étoit possible, tant à Berlin qu'en Hollande, pour le prévenir; mais, vous leur ferez connoître, en même temps, d'une manière aussi précise qu'amicale, que le roi ayant épuisé inutilement tout ce que son amour pour la paix avoit pu lui suggérer, ne pouvoit plus que remplir le devoir que lui impose la qualité d'allié de la République; que ce devoir oblige Sa Majesté, si le Roi de Prusse donne suite à ses démonstrations hostiles, d'accorder à la province de Hollande toute l'assistance que sa position vraiment alarmante exige. Les ministres Anglais ont plus de données qu'il n'en faut pour être convaincus de la répugnance extrême avec laquelle le roi prend ce parti; et ils sont trop justes pour ne pas convenir que le roi se trouve précisément dans le cas prévu dans la dépêche adressée à M. Eden, le 8 de ce mois, et dont il m'a remis un extrait. On y observe que la Grande Bretagne veut éviter de s'engager dans aucune démarche qui eût même l'apparence de tendre à troubler la tranquillité publique, à moins que cela ne devienne nécessaire par l'intervention de quelque autre puissance.

On sentira sûrement à Londres, que la manière dont le Roi de Prusse entend intervenir, ne permet au roi ni de demeurer dans l'inaction, ni de laisser la province de Hollande à la merci de Sa Majesté Prussienne, ni d'abandonner à l'influence armée de ce prince l'arrangement des différens qui

divisent la République. Au reste, Monsieur, vous déclarerez au ministère Britannique que les mesures que le roi se trouve forcé de prendre ne changent en rien le désir que le roi a de concerter avec la Cour de Londres les moyens d'apaiser les troubles qui agitent les Provinces-Unies; que si cette cour, comme nous n'en doutons pas, persiste dans les dispositions qu'elle a manifestées de son côté à cet égard, nous ne tarderons pas à nous expliquer confidentiellment avec elle sur le fond des points qu'il s'agit d'arranger. Et comme il seroit très-utile d'éviter les longueurs, vous inviterez, de notre part, milord Carmarthen d'adresser promptement à M. Eden des instructions assez étendues pour qu'il puisse discuter la matière, et au moins ébaucher un résultat avec moi. Je le désire d'autant plus, que la méthode que nous avons suivie jusqu'à présent, d'envoyer et renvoyer des notes, n'est propre qu'à prolonger une négociation qui ne sauroit être trop promptement terminée.

Au reste, Monsieur, vous annoncerez aux ministres Anglais, que le roi compte toujours sur la fidèle exécution des déclarations échangées en dernier lieu, relativement aux armemens maritimes.

J'ai l'honneur d'être,
&c. &c.,
MONTMORIN.

Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Eden.

Whitehall, Sept. 13th, 1787.

Sir,—I have His Majesty's commands to direct you to express to the French Government, that, from his sincere desire to avoid every cause of misunderstanding, and to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the Court of France, he learns with the utmost regret the determination of that Court (as notified in your last despatch, and since by M. Barthelemi), to take steps which so immediately lead to the most unpleasant consequences. His Majesty retains, as strongly as ever, the earnest wish, which I have so often repeated to you, to see the differences in the Republic of the United Provinces composed by an amicable settlement; but he is no less uniform in the sentiments conveyed to you in so many of my former despatches, that it is impossible for him to remain a quiet spectator of any armed interference on the part of France.

From the first moment that the march of the Prussian

troops became a subject of discussion between the two courts, His Majesty's language was precisely conformable to the sentiments which he still entertains. The words of my despatch, No. 26, dated the 24th of August, are as follows:— "The idea of assembling troops at Givet, which has, in the correspondence between the two courts, already received different explanations from that of France, is now distinctly rested on the ground of its being rendered necessary by the march of Prussian troops; and it is added, that the number first talked of may even be augmented. The march of the Prussian troops was certainly not a measure which originated in any suggestion from hence; and the reports which you refer to on that subject are, in that extent, ill-founded. But it is true, and you will state it explicitly to the French ministers, that His Majesty did not hesitate to express his entire approbation of the resolution manifested by the King of Prussia, to enforce satisfaction for the insult offered to the Princess of Orange. It is His Majesty's earnest wish that this satisfaction may be obtained without having recourse to extremities; and His Majesty would gladly contribute, by all the means in his power, to its being amicably arranged: but while the party in Holland persists in refusing this just demand, it appears to His Majesty perfectly just and natural that the King of Prussia should take the necessary steps for enabling him to support it with effect.

There is not the smallest foundation for the representation which you suppose to have been made by Mr. Barthelemi to his Court, that His Majesty's ministers had admitted the propriety of a French army being assembled in consequence of the measures of the King of Prussia. On the contrary, it appears to His Majesty's servants that the Court of France can certainly have no interest in opposing this demand, it being impossible to imagine that any end can be answered by countenancing a personal insult to the King of Prussia; or that France can wish to throw obstructions in the way of conciliatory measures, by forcing him to extremities on a point where his honour is so immediately concerned. The terms of a defensive alliance with the States-General cannot impose any obligation, or even furnish any pretext, for supporting a party in the province of Holland, in the consequence of such an insult, in which they not only stand separate from the Confederacy, but in direct contradiction to the opinion of the majority of the States-General. It will, therefore, give His Majesty great concern, if the French Court should, on this occasion, adopt a measure which may lead to the most

disagreeable consequences. I have already stated that the operations of the Prussian troops can give no ground for such a measure, but if the Court of France feels differently on this subject, it should be an additional reason with them to endeavour to prevail on the party in Holland no longer to oppose such a reparation as the King of Prussia can in honour accept, in order to open the way for a pacific and secure discussion of the several internal points to be adjusted in the Republic."

And in your despatch you informed me, "That M. de Montmorin, in repeating what you had already communicated to me relative to the desisting from the intention to assemble troops, and the earnest recommendation given to the States of Holland to make a satisfactory reparation to His Prussian Majesty, remarked that his court had already anticipated the wishes of the King's ministers." Whatever measures may have been taken for this purpose, no adequate effect has been produced by them. The only resolutions which have yet been communicated to the King of Prussia by the States of Holland, amount rather to a justification than to an apology of the measure complained of, and fall very short even of the proposals (however imperfect) suggested by the Court of France itself. It could not be expected that, under such circumstances, the King of Prussia should rest satisfied, and still less that the Court of France should think itself bound to support its friends in Holland in the consequences of refusing any reparation when the propriety of giving a satisfactory one had been enforced by their own recommendation.

The States-General have repeatedly disavowed the conduct of which the King of Prussia complains, and recommended the giving His Prussian Majesty sufficient satisfaction. France, therefore, instead of interfering to assist an ally, would be supporting a party who act in direct opposition to the sentiments of that ally, as well as contrary to the express recommendations of the French Government itself. In this situation it will be impossible for His Majesty to view the forcible interference of France in any other light than that in which it has been repeatedly declared His Majesty must consider it. The King, therefore, though with the greatest regret, sees himself under the necessity of making such preparations as the circumstances call for, and particularly as M. de Montmorin declared that if had been determined to grant the assistance required by the States of Holland, and as it appears that immediate measures will be

taken for this purpose, His Majesty found it impossible any longer to agree to a suspension of naval preparations. In conformity, therefore, to the declaration interchanged between the two courts, you will give immediate notice to M. de Montmorin that it is His Majesty's intention to prepare for making further naval armaments in the ports of this country.

But although the principles which His Majesty has uniformly professed, and a just regard to the interests of his dominions, have compelled His Majesty to adopt this resolution, it remains his earnest wish, and will continue so to the last possible moment, to use every endeavour to avert the calamities of war. And as it is stated to be the wish of the French Court that the negotiations relative to the affairs of the Republic should be carried on with the greatest activity, His Majesty will not despair that means may yet be found of bringing them to a speedy and happy termination. There is indeed no room for delay; and the only hope which seems to remain of avoiding fatal extremities is to come immediately to the most distinct and decisive explanation of the several points in question, although it is no longer possible to suspend our preparations during such discussion.

I must however remark, that so long ago as the 24th of August last, in my despatch before referred to, I stated to you distinctly His Majesty's sentiments on the several principles to be adopted as the basis of a mediation; and that no ministerial answer has yet been received to any of the particular points explained in that communication. As to any farther explanation from hence, I have before stated to you the obvious inconvenience which would arise from transferring the whole detail of the negotiation to Paris. In order, however, to give every possible facility on His Majesty's part for accelerating the discussion, I am directed to communicate to you such farther general observations as may throw additional light on the principles of my former instructions, which appear to be such as to comprehend almost all the necessary points of discussion, and to furnish a basis for forming an immediate agreement.

With respect to the first point of a suspension of hostilities. The increasing violence of the Free Corps, while the discussion between the two courts has been pending, and the declaration of the Court of France, that she has not the means of restraining them, furnish additional proofs that no such cessation can be completely secured, unless accompanied by the measure of disarming those corps, or by effectual steps to

restrain their violence; and I must remark, that the idea of disarming them originated with M. de Montmorin, it having been stated to you by him, as one of the alternatives mentioned in your despatch of the 16th August, No. 61. If, however, this measure cannot now be effected, a cessation of hostilities, previous to the negotiation, appears nearly impossible; and there seems, in this case, no other possible security, but such a previous agreement on the preliminaries of the negotiation, as may leave little more than inferior details to be afterwards adjusted, and as may, at the same time, hold out an appearance of sufficient concert between the mediating powers to control the excesses of the Free Corps. This could only be effected by an agreement between those powers, either to enforce jointly the principles agreed upon, or at least to take no steps, directly or indirectly, for supporting either party in opposition to those principles, or for obstructing the measures which any of those courts may take, in case either party has recourse to violence in resisting them. M. de Montmorin seems, by your despatch No. 68, to have himself pointed at an expedient of this sort; and the pressing circumstance of the present moment seem to call for it more strongly than ever. It must however be understood, that if, from the difficulty of disbanding these corps, preparatory to a negotiation, and from the necessity of avoiding delay, the idea is waived for the present, it must nevertheless make an indispensable condition of any final settlement, as, without this measure, there is not the most distant hope of restoring security and tranquillity to the Republic; and it appears by your despatch that M. de Montmorin told you, "That he acknowledged, and always felt, that they must in effect be disarmed, before peace and tranquillity could be restored sufficiently even for the purpose of deliberation." It must therefore be stipulated, that no armed bodies of men shall be suffered in any part of the Republic, but under the sanction of the lawful Government.

It was also stated as necessary, in case of a cessation of hostilities, that some provision must be made for the pay of those troops who had been struck off from the service of Holland. The difficulties mentioned on this subject would be removed by such a previous agreement as I have mentioned, as there can certainly be no possible ground for objecting to this provision in a final settlement, and as it can never be possible for the States-General to abandon these troops who acted in conformity to the orders of their lawful superiors, and to the oath they had taken. That part of the

proposed cessation of hostilities which related to the withdrawing the troops of the Republic into their ordinary garrisons, would, of course, take place in consequence of any amicable settlement.

With respect to other points, it appears that M. de Montmorin did not materially object to making the propositions contained in the King of Prussia's note the basis of the negotiation. Particularly it appears from your despatch, No. 68, that he seemed to acknowledge the justice of the proposition for leaving the Provinces *aux règlemens* to deliberate freely and according to the terms of their constitutions on the subject of those *règlemens*. The whole, therefore, of the second proposition in my despatch seems likely to be adopted. But it is material to ascertain precisely the sense in which this is agreed to. Where it is stated that these Provinces shall deliberate freely and according to the terms of the constitution, it necessarily means that this shall be done conformably to the constitution as it stood previous to the late innovations. That any changes brought about by force, during the present disturbances, shall be considered as void, and that the States (in the shape in which they then existed) shall be left to deliberate freely in concert with the Stadtholder concerning the propriety of any changes to be made in future. It might then be proper, as I before explained to you, to agree that the Prince of Orange should declare himself ready to discuss these *règlemens bonâ fide*, and freely with the Provincial States; and to agree to any alterations in them which may be desired by the States, and may appear to them, on such discussion, to be just and reasonable.

On the subject of the differences between the Prince of Orange and the provinces of Holland, Overyssel and Groningen, I can do no more than repeat what I have already stated in my despatch. The restoration of the Prince to his situation and dignities, as confirmed to him in 1766, and particularly to the office of Captain-General, and to the command of the garrison of the Hague, must be taken as the basis; and it is impossible to say what new regulations can be admitted on any particular points till they are distinctly stated. If there are any such, the finally adjusting those regulations must, in like manner, be reserved for the free deliberation of the States of Holland, after the Free Corps shall have been disbanded, and the lawful magistracies who have been dispossessed by force have been replaced.

If the general principles of such proposed regulations can be satisfactorily explained, and the other principles men-

tioned in this and my former despatch are agreed to, the best effect may be expected from the joint mediation of the three Courts; provided the great obstacle, which at present subsists, is removed, by procuring a satisfactory reparation to the King of Prussia, without which there is no possibility of restoring tranquillity. It is impossible to say how far events may have already taken place to make this no longer a subject of negotiation; but if that should not be the case, and if the Court of France can yet prevail upon their friends in Holland to offer such satisfaction as the King of Prussia can in honour accept, His Majesty will be sincerely desirous to see this point amicably arranged.

From everything I have said respecting the several points of negotiation, you will perceive how nearly the principles laid down conform to the language which you have reported to have been at different times held by M. de Montmorin; and I trust this circumstance will convince the French Court how sincerely His Majesty's ministers are desirous to take every practicable step for affecting an amicable settlement; at the same time that it is become their indispensable duty to prepare for a contrary event. I have not thought it necessary to take notice of such expressions related in your despatch as might seem to imply a charge of insincerity against this Court. The French minister must, however, be sensible how little foundation there is for such a charge. The consistency and purity of His Majesty's conduct is sufficiently evinced by the bare reference to what has passed, and (whatever may be the issue of the present discussion) His Majesty's ministers wish to avoid any mixture of warmth or asperity.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

CARMARTHEN.

P.S.—I have just received your despatches, Nos. 82, 83, 84, by Flint.

The following is a list of the French navy procured by Mr. Eden for Mr. Pitt:—

ÉTAT DE LA MARINE FRANÇAISE.

Paris, ce 18 octobre 1787

Vaisseaux de Ligne.

À Brest.

	Canons.		Canons.
Les États de Bourgogne	118	Le Citoyen	74
La Bretagne	110	Le Diadème	74
Le Royal Louis	110	L'Illustre	74
Le Terrible	110	Le Magnanime	74
L'Invincible	110	Le Northumberland	74
Le Majestueux	110	Le Neptune	74
L'Auguste	80	Le Sceptre	74
Le St. Esprit	80	La Superbe	74
Le Languedoc	80	Le Zélé	74
Le Duc de Bourgogne	80	Le Téméraire	74
Les Deux Frères	80	L'Argonaute	74
L'Amérique	74	Le Patriote	74
L'Hercule	74	La Ferme	74
Le Pluton	74	Le Léopard	74
L'Achille	74	La Victoire	74
Le Brave	74	Le Réfléchi	64

À Rochefort.

La Marseillaise	74	La Provence	64
Le Protecteur	74	Le Triton	64
Le Généreux	74	Le Brillant	64
L'Orion	74	Le St. Michel	60
L'Impétueux	74	Le Sagittaire	50
L'Apollon.	74	L'Amphion	50
L'Aquilon	74	L'Annibal	50
Le Sophin	64		

À L'Orient.

L'Audacieux	74	Le Tourville	74
Le Fougueux	74	L'Entreprenant	74
Le Borée	74		

À Toulon.

Le Destin	74	Le Centaur	74
Le Suffisant	74	L'Heureux	74
Le Puissant	74	Le Mercure	74
Le Dictateur	74	Le Héros	74
Le Conquérant	74	Le Dugué Trouin	74
Le Penseur	74	Le Souverain	74
Le Guerrier	74	Le Triomphant	80
L'Alude	74	La Couronne	80

NOTA.—Il y a encore à Toulon en construction un vaisseau de 118 canons, qui se nommera, à ce qu'on croit, La Ville de Paris, et un de 74.

Il y a aussi en construction à Brest 2 vaisseaux de 74.

Frégates.

À BREST.

	Canons.		Canons.
La Résolution	44	L'Émeraude	du 12 26
La Consolante	du 18 26	L'Engageante	*id.* 26
La Nymphe	*id.* 26	La Fine	*id.* 26
La Vénus	*id.* 26	La Félicité	*id.* 26
La Proserpine	*id.* 28	L'Iphigénie	*id.* 26
La Pénélope	*id.* 28	La Galathée	*id.* 26
La Danaë	du 12 26	La Gentille	*id.* 26
L'Amazone	*id.* 26	La Gloire	*id.* 26
L'Amphitrite	*id.* 26	La Résolue	*id.* 26
L'Astrée	*id.* 26	La Zémond	*id.* 26
L'Atalante	*id.* 26	La Surveillante	*id.* 26
La Bellone	*id.* 26	L'Active	du 9 26
La Cléopâtre	*id.* 26	L'Aigrette	du 8 26
La Calypso	*id.* 26		

À ROCHEFORT.

La Pomone	du 18 26	L'Andromaque	du 12 26
La Gracieuse	12 26	La Courageuse	*id.* 26
La Fleur de Lys	*id.* 26	La Néreide	*id.* 26
La Cérès	*id.* 26	La Railleuse	*id.* 26
L'Harmonie	*id.* 26	La Flore	*id.* 26
La Médée	*id.* 26	La Guadeloupe	du 9 24
La Fée	*id.* 26		

À L'ORIENT.

La Méduse	du 18 28	La Didon	du 12 28
La Driade	12 28	La Capricieuse	*id.* 26

À TOULON.

La Minerve	du 18 26	La Sérieuse	du 12 26
La Turon	*id.* 26	La Précieuse	*id.* 26
L'Iris	12 26	La Montréal	*id.* 26
La Lieste	*id.* 26	La Sultane	*id.* 26
La Vestale	*id.* 26	L'Aurore	*id.* 26
La Frissonne	*id.* 26	La Mignonne	*id.* 26
La Lutine	*id.* 26	La Pléiade	*id.* 26

Corvettes.

À BREST.

La Blette	du 6 20	Le Vautour	du 6 20
La Blonde	*id.* 20	La Cérès	*id.* 20

À Rochefort.

		Canons.			Canons.
Le Rossignol	du 6	20	Le Chien de Chasse	du 6	18
La Fauvette	*id.*	20	Le Stormond	*id.*	18
La Perdrix	*id.*	20	L'Hypocrite	*id.*	18
Le Tourtereau	*id.*	20	4 autres corvettes de		20
Le David	*id.*	20			

À Toulon.

La Flèche	du 6	18	La Sardine	du 6	14
La Sémillante	*id.*	18	La barque l'Éclair		18
La Badine	*id.*	18	Le brick la Suzanne		14
La Brune	*id.*	18	Le brick le Gersant		
La Poulette	*id.*	18			

Flottes.

La Désirée.
La Fille Unique.
Le Pérou.
Le Dauphin Royal.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 July, 2018